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Implicit self-presentational goals and nonverbal behavior.

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IMPLICIT SELF-PRESENTATIONAL GOALS AND NONVERBAL BEHAVIOR

A Dissertation Presented

by

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ABSTRACT

IMPLICIT SELF-PRESENTATIONAL GOALS AND NONVERBAL BEHAVIOR

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The current set of studies attempted to examine how particular interpersonal goals affected the displays of nonverbal behaviors during job interviews for men and women particularly high and low in self-monitoring needs, and how these nonverbal behaviors affected subsequent applicant ratings and hiring decisions. In Study 1, participants were assigned the role of interviewee for a mock job interview and interviewed for a position which emphasized either competence, ingratiation, or an unspecified self-presentational goal. Participants' interviews were coded for the performance of a number of nonverbal behaviors. While we predicted main effects of self-presentational goal on interviewees' nonverbal behaviors and levels of emotion, as well as interactions between self-presentational goal and gender and between self-presentational goal and self-monitoring, the majority of the effects found related to the interviewees' level of self monitoring; high self-monitors were perceived by judges as less anxious, by interviewers as more competent and hirable, and by both judges and interviewers as happier than low self-monitors. Based on the results of Study 1, prototypes of nonverbal behaviors were constructed. Male and female confederates were trained to produce the levels and

combinations of nonverbal behaviors exhibited by those individuals rated the most and least likable in Study 1 while giving a scripted interview. These interviews were videotaped and shown to male and female participants who rated the interviews on a number of measures. Participants' ratings of interview performance, happiness, and anxiety were all significantly affected by nonverbal prototype, and ratings of likability were marginally affected by prototype. Interviewee gender significantly influenced ratings of competence and likability, and had a marginal effect on ratings of interview performance. Finally, nonverbal prototype and interviewee gender interacted to produce significant effects for interview performance, likability, competence, happiness, and anxiety. This interaction suggests that performance of the same sets of nonverbal behaviors by male and female interviewees are received and evaluated quite differently.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

We all seem to share a belief in the importance of positively presenting ourselves to new people--starting out interpersonal relationships on the "right foot". Numerous industries are devoted to preparing us for that first encounter, whether it be a date, an introduction to a new roommate, or a job interview. The cosmetics and fashion industries are devoted to making us look right, while books, videos, and seminars have sprung up in order to teach us to say the right things and to instruct us on the proper ways to physically present ourselves. The notion that first impressions are crucial and persisting seems commonsensical.

Industrial/organizational psychology has taken a great interest in the area of impression management as it is particularly relevant to applicant behavior in job interviews. While the accuracy, reliability, and validity of job interviews are still commonly questioned, the employment interview is still widely used today (Arvey & Campion, 1982), and therefore knowledge regarding strategies for successful interviewing as well as information regarding biases involved in the employment interview process is extremely important.

To ask why people strategically self-present almost seems like a silly question. Clearly, one of the reasons we self-present is in order to achieve social approval; we wish to be liked and esteemed by others. Yet within a strict self-presentational approach, it should be assumed that attempts toward social approval are made, not for the social approval itself, but for the rewards that approval can provide (Jellison & Arkin, 1977).

Because in normal functioning social approval and material rewards are inexorably linked, it is often difficult to discern the ultimate goal of self-presentation.

In a clever study designed to address this question, Jellison and Gentry (1978) informed participants they would be interviewing with a personnel manager who hired either individuals he liked or those whom he disliked. When given a chance to complete a set of employment tests, participants responded to the tests so as to obtain the job, even when that involved creating what they expected to be disapproval in the manager. While it may often be important to us that others like us, this goal may be overridden by more salient goals.

It should be noted that throughout the body of this paper the terms impression management and self-presentation are used interchangeably. Schlenker (1980) is one of the few researchers to make a real distinction between these terms. He proposed that impression management involves attempts to control images that the individual projects in social interactions, while self-presentation more specifically involves the projection of images that are self-relevant. Under his rubric, we would be interested in impression management, but as most theorists do not make this distinction, we will be using the words synonymously.

A Typology of Impression Management/Motivated Self-Presentation

Erving Goffman literally set the stage for discussion of the self-presentational strategies people employ when interacting with others. According to Goffman (1959), we live our lives as performers staging characters for audiences. His sociological discussion of and dramaturgical approach to self-presentation has become the basis of much theorizing in the field of psychology. When Goffman spoke of self-presentation,

he was not referring to the expression of an existing inner self, but instead was referring to the creation of a persona specifically for a given context and audience. Caring little for the inner workings of the individual, he was more interested in the interplay between the audience and an individual's presentation.

Goffman viewed impression management as an integral part of interactions and felt that actors must disguise their actual affective responses while presenting appropriate affective displays to their audiences. While his original ideas were extremely influential in sparking theory related to self-presentational behavior, they lacked the specificity to allow for the construction of testable predictions, therefore other researchers built on his work, creating more precise theories and typologies of self-presentational behavior.

One of the most influential, modern theories of self-presentation is Jones and Pittman's (1982) Theory of Strategic Self-Presentation. This theory states that actors try to create specific impressions of themselves in targets or to manage perceptions of themselves in order to elicit particular attributions of their behaviors by the targets. This process of managing targets' attributions of oneself is facilitated by the fundamental attribution error, an observer's tendency to attribute an actor's behavior to personal qualities or characteristics rather than to the situation (Ross, 1977).

Jones and Pittman identify five classes of self-presentational strategies (ingratiation, self-promotion, exemplification, intimidation, supplication) which are distinguished from one another primarily based upon the particular attribution the actor is seeking to invoke in the target (likability, competence, worthiness, dangerous, helpless). Probably the two most common, and certainly the two most studied, classes of strategies are ingratiation and self-promotion.

Jones and his colleagues suggest that ingratiation behaviors are different from the other types of self-presentational strategies they identify because ingratiation behaviors tend to be "illicit". By illicit, Jones and Pittman are referring to their belief that ingratiators often conceal their desire to be liked both from themselves, as well as others (Jones & Pittman, 1982; Jones & Wortman, 1973). If targets are aware of attempts to ingratiate, the tactics can backfire and produce less liking. In addition, individuals attempting to get others to like them may face what Jones and Pittman (1982) have labeled the "ingratiator's dilemma." As an individual's dependence on the target increases, the likelihood that ingratiation will succeed decreases. This inverse relationship exists, they suggest, because as an individual's dependency on a target increases, so too does the salience of the ingratiatory tactics, thus leading to less liking. Examples of the types of tactics used to ingratiate are conformity, other-enhancement, favor-doing (creating a debt by offering to do something for the other person; i.e., "I used a great new spreadsheet program on that project. If you're interested, I'd be happy to send it to you."), and self-description.

The second class of self-presentational behaviors are called self-promotional behaviors. To enhance attributions of competence, individuals may use self-promotional techniques in which they claim responsibility for prior positive performances and accomplishments and/or actually demonstrate their superior abilities to targets. On the other hand, self-promoters may discuss a minor area of weakness in order to create an aura of credibility when discussing more important areas of strength (Jones, Gergen, & Jones, 1963). Unfortunately, self-promoters can face a "self-promoter's paradox"; targets

of self-promotion realize that it is often the individuals who are least competent who most strongly proclaim their own competence.

Ingratiation and, to a somewhat lessor degree, self-promotional behaviors are by far the most studied of the self-presentational behaviors. This is most likely due in part to the ease with which these behaviors can be evoked in an experimental setting, particularly as compared to the generation of Jones and Pittman's other categories of self-presentational behaviors: supplication, intimidation, and exemplification behaviors. The goal of exemplification behaviors is to create attributions of dedication and moral worthiness. These behaviors may function by raising feelings of guilt in the target although these tactics can fail if the actor is perceived as self-righteous. Exemplification often involves tactics such as self-denial and the helping of others.

Intimidation has as its goal that the target fear the actor. Employing threats and/or actual or avowed anger, the intimidator creates the expectation of negative consequences in the target. While little research has been done in the area of intimidation, Jones and Pittman suggest that intimidation is most likely to be employed in cases of non-voluntary relationships, when the intimidator has the resources with which to enact potential negative consequences, when the target cannot "fight back", and when the intimidator is uninterested in evoking more positive attributions from the target.

Finally, supplication may be used by those individuals lacking the resources to use other strategies. Through the use of strategies such as self-deprecation and help-seeking, actors highlight their own weaknesses and dependency in order to elicit feelings of nurturance from target individuals and invoke a norm of social responsibility. The risk

in using these types of tactics is that the target individual may feel no obligation to obey the social norm, thus leaving the actor in an even more vulnerable position.

The strategies we use to present ourselves in a particular manner can take many forms. For instance, we may mimic the way others dress or act, or we may attempt to steer the topic of conversation to an area of our expertise. It also seems reasonable that nonverbal behavior would play a particularly important role in an individual's self-presentational efforts. Researchers have demonstrated that facial expressions tend not only to indicate the specific affect being experienced by an individual, but may also represent the intensity of the affect (Cacioppo, Petty, Losch, & Kim, 1986; Cacioppo & Tassinary, 1990). While people are not always successful at controlling their nonverbal behaviors (e.g., DePaulo, 1992; DePaulo & Kirkendol, 1989; DePaulo, Kirkendol, Tang, & O'Brien, 1988; Vrij, 1995), numerous studies have shown that, when motivated, people can manipulate the expression of emotions through their expressive behaviors so that others can accurately recognize the emotions intended (e.g., DePaulo, Stone, & Lassiter, 1985; Josephs, 1994). In fact, a long-established line of research shows that nonverbal emotional displays not only are used strategically, but that others place great emphasis on nonverbal behavioral cues, assuming that they provide important information about an individual's true emotional state (DePaulo, 1991; Feldman & Rimé, 1991). These assumptions may not be too far off the mark, for judgments about others have been shown to be quite accurate even when based on brief observations of expressive behaviors (Albright, Kenny, & Malloy, 1988; Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992; Funder & Colvin, 1988; Watson, 1989).

Studies that have directly investigated the relationship between nonverbal behaviors and particular self-presentational motives have yielded several conclusions (e.g., Aloise-Young, 1993; Pellegrini, Hicks, & Gordon, 1970; Reiss & Rosenfeld, 1980). When participants are specifically asked to ingratiate themselves, they tend to use reactive nonverbal behaviors with their partners--leaning forward, creating eye contact, nodding and smiling. In contrast, participants asked to self-promote display more proactive behaviors--attempting to impress their partners with their achievements, sitting up straight, and gesturing confidently (Godfrey, Jones, & Lord, 1986). When given a goal of gaining their partners' approval, participants smile, nod, and gesture to a greater degree than participants whose goal is to avoid approval (Rosenfeld, 1966a, 1966b). These studies demonstrate that not only are people capable of using nonverbal behaviors, but that they are able to intentionally employ these behaviors when instructed to achieve specific interpersonal goals. Furthermore, these types of nonverbal behaviors, directed toward achieving interpersonal goals, have been shown to affect the ways in which people are perceived.

In a study by Godfrey, Jones, and Lord (1986) in which participants were asked to ingratiate or self-promote to a naive partner, partners of the self-presenters ultimately rated ingratiators as more likable than self-promoters, while perceiving no significant differences in competence between ingratiators and self-promotors. In a similar study by Levine and Feldman (1997), ingratiators were seen as more competent by their partners than self-promotors. Together these studies seem to suggest that ingratiation may result in more effective self-presentational strategies than self-promotion. Neither of these studies found benefits for self-promotional efforts in partners' competence or liking

ratings, while both found benefits for ingratiation efforts on partners' ratings. It thus appears, based on these two studies, that the probability of successfully getting others with whom one is unacquainted to like oneself is higher than the probability of getting others to think one is competent.

However, all prior experiments examining the relationship between self-presentational strategies and nonverbal behavior share a common methodology: they directly instruct participants regarding the nature of the self-presentation they should employ. Yet, life in the world outside of the laboratory rarely presents a situation in which self-presentational goals are so directly transmitted. Instead, such goals are implicit in specific situations.

For example, when meeting with professors to discuss grades, students may notice that their professors are informal and friendly rather than stuffy and confrontational. In such cases, students may attempt to ingratiate rather then self-promote themselves to their professors, because they perceive that ingratiation will be an effective self-presentational strategy. If, on the other hand, students arrive at their professors' offices and notice that the walls are strewn with awards and accolades and are directed by their professors to "make their cases", students may attempt to self-promote rather than ingratiate themselves. In fact, Jones and Wortman (1973) have suggested that ingratiation-style behaviors rarely result from deliberate tactical planning, but instead are due to more automatic processes--responses which may be triggered by salient aspects of a situation. Experiments in which participants are directed to self-present in a particular manner, then, may not adequately assess how people actually manipulate their nonverbal behavior in situations in which they choose a strategy on their own. One of the goals of

the current research, then, was to investigate self-presentation under conditions in which the goals were implicit in the situation.

Individual Differences in Self-Presentation

Although it is clear that people, in general, use nonverbal behaviors in attempts to reach interpersonal goals, there also are substantial individual differences in terms of people's abilities to control and manipulate their nonverbal behavior. By identifying some of these differences, we can gain a clearer understanding of the effects of self-presentational goals on behavior. Among the two most important individual differences are gender differences and self-monitoring.

Gender Differences

One of the central individual difference factors is gender. Research on facial expressions demonstrates that infant girls produce more facial expressions that look like expressions of interest than do infant boys (Malatesta & Haviland, 1982), and women are more spontaneously expressive than men (Hall, 1984). Women are also better at posing emotions than are men (Hall, 1984). This skill, in particular, might be expected to lend itself well to women's use of nonverbal behaviors for self-presentational purposes.

In fact, research employing the disappointing gift paradigm, in which children's reactions are observed upon their receipt of a disappointing gift, demonstrates that girls are much more likely to maintain their positive expressions in social situations as compared to boys (Cole, 1986; Saarni, 1984). Women also tend to be more aware of interpersonal interactions (Exline, 1972) and more accurate at reading facial cues than men (Boyatzis, Chazan, & Ting, 1993; Hall, 1984). This increased interpersonal

awareness can be useful for gauging one's interpersonal "performance" and adapting it in order to create the specific image one wishes to project.

Further, in childhood as well as adulthood, men and women differ in the nature of their social interactions; men tend to interact in large groups organized around competition and conflict, while women tend to form smaller, more affiliative groups (Barth & Kinder, 1988; Erwin, 1993; Hall, 1987; Johnson & Leslie, 1982; Paley, 1984). These differing social networks may promote the use of different nonverbal displays for men and women. Whereas the competitive and hierarchical nature of men's relationships may encourage self-promotion and the expression of negative emotions such as anger, the more supportive and affiliative nature of women's relationships may encourage ingratiation and the expression of positive emotions such as happiness.

For instance, Coats and Feldman (1996) have found evidence to suggest that the appropriate emotional display for men and women attempting to achieve high sociometric status among their same-sex peers is different; men are most effective when displaying negative emotion, while women are most effective when displaying positive emotion. These results were supported by a study by Coats (1996), which found that women clearly displaying happiness and men displaying anger were perceived by naive judges as having higher sociometric status, compared to women displaying anger or sadness and men displaying happiness or sadness.

It appears that displays of the same emotion by men and women may have differential effects. Displays of anger by men are related to ratings of high sociometric status, whereas displays of anger by women are related to lower ratings of sociometric status. Thus, we might expect differences between men and women in their nonverbal

behaviors depending on the social goal they wish to attain, with men more likely to vary in terms of their negative emotion and women more likely to vary in terms of their positive emotion.

In fact, this hypothesis was partially supported by a study conducted by Levine and Feldman (1997). In this study one member of a same-sex dyad was instructed to ingratiate, self-promote, or just get to know their partner (control condition). Judges' ratings of sections of the dyadic interactions indicated that while women showed little variability in their expressions of positive and negative emotion across self-presentational goals, men instructed to ingratiate themselves to their partners tended to show less negative emotion and more positive emotion as compared to men in the control condition or men instructed to self-promote. Based on the developmental literature (e.g., Hall, 1984), it might be expected that women would show greater differences in emotional expression across conditions than men. Instead, overall men seemed to adjust their emotional displays in accordance to their interpersonal goals, while women, seemed either unable to adjust their emotional displays based on their interpersonal goals or simply to choose to express similarly low levels of negative emotion and similarly high levels of positive emotion regardless of their particular interpersonal goal.

Another possible explanation for women's lack of variability in their emotional displays in this study is that women were less likely than their male counterparts to accept the interpersonal goals assigned to them. Instead, one may hypothesize that getting others to like them (i.e., ingratiation) is always an underlying, if not primary, goal for women, regardless of any other goal externally provided to them. As mentioned previously, studies of children's same-sex friendships suggest that women tend to form

more supportive and affiliative friendships than men (Erwin, 1993; Hall, 1987; Paley, 1984). Even during their college years, women's peer groups are characterized by greater affiliation and less conflict than men's peer groups (Barth & Kinder, 1988; Johnson & Leslie, 1982). These friendships, with their emphasis on interpersonal intimacy, may predispose women to present themselves in a likable manner. Without a strong incentive to actually meet a self-promotional goal, women may focus more on getting their partners to like them than on self-promoting. While Levine and Feldman (1997) have no direct evidence suggesting that, overall, the women in their study were more focused on the goal of ingratiation than the men, women were rated as more likable than men regardless of their interpersonal goals.

Researchers have also suggested that women may be more interested than men in gaining social approval (Block, 1978; Huston, 1983; Millham & Jacobson, 1978). Both men and women realize that punishments and rewards often rest upon the appropriateness of the emotions they express, but for women these expectations are even stronger than they are for men. While both sexes expect relatively the same consequences for appropriate behaviors, women expect more negative consequences after inappropriate behavior (Graham, Gentry, & Green, 1981). Thus women may feel less latitude than men in the nonverbal behaviors they express.

Self-Monitoring

Another important individual difference in the expression of nonverbal behavior is level of self-monitoring. Self-monitoring relates to the regulation of one's behavior to the demands of a given situation in order to effectively monitor the image projected to others (Snyder, 1987). People high in self-monitoring endorse items such as "I would

probably make a good actor/actress" and "I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them." Indeed, past research has shown that individuals high in self-monitoring are not only more highly skilled at controlling their expressive behaviors to suit a given situation, but are also more skilled at posing emotions than those individuals low in self-monitoring (Friedman & Miller-Herringer, 1991; Snyder, 1974). Low self-monitors, on the other hand, are believed to lack the ability to easily adapt their behaviors in response to changes in situational demands (Snyder, 1987; Snyder & Gangestad, 1986; Snyder & Ickes, 1985).

For example, Friedman and Miller-Herringer (1991) revealed that high self-monitoring participants, upon learning that they had just defeated a competitor, displayed victory gestures only when alone; when in the presence of their fellow competitors, they suppressed their overt displays of happiness. Low self-monitors, on the other hand, did not conceal their emotions, showing much more consistency across the social and non-social conditions. Dabbs, Evans, Hopper, and Purvis (1980) have suggested that high self-monitors are especially attuned to the role requirements of different situations, and therefore it is reasonable to expect that individuals scoring high on self-monitoring will be more likely to regulate their nonverbal expressions when interpersonal goals such as ingratiation or self-promotion are made salient than will individuals scoring low on self-monitoring.

The Present Studies

Past research indicates that individuals can and do alter their nonverbal behaviors when explicitly instructed to meet self-presentational goals, and these behaviors can have an effect on ratings of liking and competence (e.g., Godfrey, et al., 1986). In everyday

life, though, we do not receive clear instructions telling us how to present ourselves in interpersonal interactions; we simply act based on our understanding of the situation. How do people alter their nonverbal presentations when faced with implicit self-presentational goals?

The current set of studies sought to examine how particular interpersonal goals affected the displays of nonverbal behaviors during job interviews for men and women particularly high and low in self-monitoring needs, and how these nonverbal behaviors affected subsequent applicant ratings and hiring decisions. In Study 1, participants were assigned the role of interviewee for a mock job interview and interviewed for a position which emphasized either competence, ingratiation, or an unspecified self-presentational goal. Participants' interviews were coded for the performance of a number of nonverbal behaviors. The use of a job interview format provided several benefits. An interview provides a setting that typically evokes clear self-presentational goals, depending on the nature of the job for which a candidate is interviewing. It is also a setting that has been investigated extensively, although previous studies have focused mainly on types or degrees of nonverbal presentation rather than goal-directed nonverbal presentation and have not generally considered the gender of the individual making the self-presentation. More generally, behaviors such as eye contact, gesturing, and smiling have been found to be related to more favorable evaluations of interviewees (e.g., Anderson & Shackelton, 1990; Imada & Hakel, 1977; Wexley, Fugita, & Malone, 1975).

Based on Jones and Pittman's theory of strategic self-presentation (1982) which suggests that ingratiators seek to arouse feeling of affection in others while self-promotors seek to arouse feelings of respect and deference, it was expected that

individuals in the ingratiation condition would display greater forward body lean, higher percentages of eye contact and smiling, decreased interpersonal distance, and more direct body orientation, as well as higher levels of positive emotion and lower levels of negative emotion than individuals in the self-promotion condition. It was also expected that men and women would produce significantly different nonverbal displays in the unspecified self-presentational goal condition, with women producing displays similar to those in the ingratiation condition and men producing displays similar to those in the self-promotion condition. Finally, high self-monitors were expected to show greater differences in nonverbal presentations across goal conditions than low self-monitors; low self-monitors were expected to display fewer changes in their nonverbal presentations due to self-presentational goal.

Study 2 involved the creation of prototypes of nonverbal behaviors based on the results of Study 1. Male and female confederates were trained to produce these levels and combinations of nonverbal behaviors while giving a scripted interview. In this way we attempted to manipulate nonverbal displays while holding the verbal content of the interviews constant. These interviews were videotaped and shown to male and female participants who rated the interviews on a number of measures. We sought to reproduce the associations found between specific nonverbal behavior configurations and the ratings made by interviewees in Study 1 in a more controlled setting, one in which we could manipulate nonverbal behavior while controlling for other variables. We expected to find main effects of nonverbal behavior condition, interviewee gender, as well as an interaction between nonverbal behavior condition and interviewee gender.

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1

Method

Overview

Undergraduates were videotaped as they participated in a mock job interview with a same-sex confederate serving as an interviewer. All participants were assigned the role of interviewee and received one of three job descriptions before participating in their interview. These job descriptions emphasized the importance of affiliation and friendliness (ingratiation condition), competency and skillfulness (self-promotion condition), or provided a more general description of the job qualifications (unspecified condition). Participants were encouraged to do their best in this interview, as those receiving the highest ratings could receive the opportunity to interview with other members of the company. Following the interview, confederates, blind to condition, made ratings of the interviewee's performance and took a measurement of the amount of interpersonal distance used by the interviewee. Videotapes of the interviewees' performances were coded for percentage of eye contact, percentage of time spent smiling, forward lean, directness of orientation, competence and likability, and positive and negative emotional displays.

Pilot Study

A pilot study involving 126 participants was conducted in order to refine our procedure. In this pilot participants were informed that the experimenter was working with a local company, called the Putnam Group, to study the job interview process. Participants were given one of three job descriptions emphasizing either the importance

of competence, friendliness, or both competence and friendliness and informed that if they were one of three individuals receiving the highest ratings in their interviews, they would receive a monetary prize and might be contacted at a later date by the company for an actual interview. Participants were then videotaped surreptitiously while they engaged in a brief job interview with an individual presented to them as a recruiter from the Putnam Group. Responses from participants suggested that our job descriptions did not focus enough on the presentational goals in which we were interested; participants did not consistently identify the correct self-presentational goal for each job description. Participants also indicated that they were not particularly interested in "The Putnam Group", described as a company working exclusively with nonprofit organizations conducting fundraising campaigns. Thus, a new cover story was developed and less vague job descriptions were created.

Participants

One hundred thirty-four undergraduate management students at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst (67 men and 67 women) participated in this study for extra credit.

Procedure

In the present study, participants were introduced to an experimenter who told them (as part of the cover story) that she was working with the Marriot Hotel Corporation in order to study the job interview process. Participants were told that because this hotel chain did considerable interviewing on college campuses for their summer management trainee program and because they wished to save time and money, the company was considering training students who had already been through the program to serve as

interviewers on college campuses and to conduct first-round interviews. Participants were told that while this was a study, if they were identified as particularly outstanding candidates, they might be asked back for additional interviews and could win a place in the summer management trainee program.

Finally, participants were told that we were also interested in how different personality variables relate to performance and ratings in job interviews, so they would be asked to fill out questionnaires both before and after they interviewed. Participants were told that these questionnaires were strictly for the use of the experimenter and would not be shown to individuals from the hotel corporation. All participants signed a consent form and then were given a short questionnaire containing, along with filler items, the Self-Monitoring Scale (Snyder & Gangestad, 1986, Appendix A).

The experimenter asked participants to take this interview seriously. Participants were told that, as part of this study, audio tapes were being made of the interviews, and these tapes would be reviewed by members of the Human Resource division of the Marriot Corporation. Participants were reminded that based on their performances in their interviews, students might be invited out to the corporate headquarters for an actual interview and could win a place in the summer management trainee program.

To prepare for the interview, all participants received a brief job description emphasizing one of three self-presentational goals (self-promotion, ingratiation, or unspecified). These descriptions read as follows:

> **Self-promotion**: The Marriot Hotel Corporation offers a summer trainee program to college students interested in management positions. Candidates

should be currently enrolled in college and have some prior work experience. Specifically, Marriot is looking for undergraduates who appear:

- self-confident
- highly competent
- capable
- self-assured

Because much of your time will involve interacting with others, it is essential that you be able to present yourself in this manner at all times on the job. Selection of trainees will be based on these criteria.

Ingratiation: The Marriot Hotel Corporation offers a summer trainee program to college students interested in management positions. Candidates should be currently enrolled in college and have some prior work experience. Specifically, Marriot is looking for undergraduates who appear:

- friendly
- likable
- pleasant
- able to get along well with others

Because much of your time will involve interacting with others, it is essential that you be able to present yourself in this manner at all times on the job. Selection of trainees will be based on these criteria.

Unspecified: The Marriot Hotel Corporation offers a summer trainee program to college students interested in management positions. Candidates should be currently enrolled in college and have some prior work experience. Because much of your time will involve interacting with others, it is essential that you be able to present yourself well at all times on the job.

(See Appendix B for the descriptions as they appeared in the study.) The original pilot study had included an "ambiguous" job description, emphasizing both competence and friendliness, as opposed to the "unspecified" job description in the present study, emphasizing neither competence nor friendliness. We felt that this more vague description might allow us to more easily identify if participants were imposing their own interpersonal goal preferences on their reading of the job description (i.e., men might be more likely to remember this description as emphasizing self-promotion while women might remember this description as emphasizing ingratiation). These descriptions were randomly assigned and participants were given three minutes to read the description and prepare for their interviews.

Participants were led to another room where a confederate interviewer met them at the door. Participants were introduced to the interviewer by the experimenter who then exited the room. The interviewer invited the participant to "pull up a chair" and then started an audio tape. The interviewer read a list of pre-written interview questions related to academic background, career goals, and personal history (Appendix C). Confederates were trained to control their nonverbal behaviors, keeping them moderated and constant from one experimental session to the next. Participants were videotaped through a one-way mirror. The interviews lasted an average of 3 minutes, 34 seconds (ranging from 2 minutes, 12 seconds to 18 minutes, 8 seconds).

Following the interview, participants were led back to the room they had occupied previously, and completed a post-interview questionnaire including a manipulation check asking them to identify the main requirements of the job for which they had just interviewed (Appendix D). Participants were then debriefed and informed that they had been videotaped. Participants were asked to sign a post-consent form granting their permission for the further use of their videotapes. (Seven participants' tapes were erased at their request).

Dependent Variables

Participants' interviews were coded from the videotapes for percentage of eye contact, percentage of time spent smiling, forward body lean (measured in 10° units), and directness of orientation (measured in 10° units). Forward lean and directness of orientation were time-sampled every 20 seconds, and a mean score was calculated for each variable. To produce a measure of interpersonal distance, the distance between the interviewer's and interviewee's chairs was measured (in inches) following each interview.

In addition, brief segments of each of the interviews (15-second clips taken at the first and third minutes of the interviews) were viewed without sound by 18 to 24 naive judges (a total of 124 judges: 24 men, 100 women) who rated the competence, likability, and level of positive and negative emotion displayed by participants on seven-point Likert-type scales ranging from *not at all* (1) to *very* (7) (Appendix E). Finally, interviewers, blind to self-presentational goal condition, made ratings of the interviewees' viability as job candidates, competence, likability, and levels of positive and negative emotion displayed by participants on seven-point Likert-type scales ranging from *not at all* (1) to *very* (7) (Appendix F).

Results

A 2 (gender of interviewee: male or female) x 2 (level of self-monitoring of interviewee: high or low) x 3 (self-presentational goal of interviewee: self-promotion, ingratiation, or unspecified) between-subject design was used to analyze participants' performances in the interviews. We expected to find a main effect of self-presentational goal on nonverbal behavior such that individuals in the ingratiation condition would display greater forward body lean, higher percentages of eye contact and smiling, decreased interpersonal distance, and more direct body orientation, as well as higher levels of positive emotion and lower levels of negative emotion than individuals in the self-promotion condition. We also expected an interaction between self-presentational goal and gender such that men and women would produce significantly different nonverbal displays in the unspecified self-presentational goal condition, with women producing displays similar to those in the ingratiation condition and men producing displays similar to those in the self-promotion condition. Finally, we expected an

interaction between self-monitoring and self-presentational goal, with high self-monitors showing greater differences in nonverbal presentations across goal conditions than low self-monitors.

While 67 men and 67 women participated in the interview phase of the study, analysis of interviewer ratings was conducted on 60 men and 60 women. Participants were removed from this analysis for various reasons: nine participants were removed due to suspicion, three participants' data were lost due to equipment/procedural problems, one participant was removed because he knew the interviewer, and one participant was removed due to a lack of fluency in English. An additional seven participants asked to have their videotapes erased, so analyses involving videotape data were conducted on 58 men and 55 women. A chi-square confirmed that removal of participants due to suspicion and request of erasure of tape did not differ significantly by gender or condition ($\chi_2(2, N = 16) = 5.54, p < .10$).

Manipulation Check

Following their interviews, participants were asked a question meant to verify that they were aware of the requirements of the job as stated by the job description. This question read as follows: "*According to the job description you were given prior to your interview, what abilities are necessary for this management program?*". Participants were offered four responses to this question: *(a) ability to appear friendly and likable; (b) ability to appear competent and skillful; (c) both a and b; (d) neither a nor b.* Of those participants receiving the job description emphasizing self-promotion, 66% identified competence as the necessary ability for the job, while 81% of those individuals receiving the description emphasizing ingratiation selected ingratiation as the necessary

ability for the job. Finally, 44% of those participants receiving the job description with no specified goal identified competence, 36% identified likableness, 10% identified both of these abilities as necessary for the job, and 10% identified neither of these goals as necessary for the job. The responses chosen by participants in each condition were not systematically affected by participants' gender or level of self-monitoring.

Subsequent analyses of variance were performed twice, once with all participants, and once with those participants who had misidentified the job description removed. Removal of those participants misidentifying the job description did not significantly change the results of this study. Therefore, reported analyses include all participants.

Nonverbal Behaviors

All tapes were coded by the experimenter for percentage of time spent smiling, percentage of eye contact, and body position. Body orientation was dropped as a dependent variable due to lack of variability between subjects; virtually all subjects sat directly facing the interviewer. Ten percent of the tapes were coded by a second experimenter and the two sets of ratings were correlated to produce reliabilities for each of the nonverbal behaviors (percentage of time smiling $r = .81$; percentage of eye contact $r = .94$; body position $r = .96$). Objective measurements of interpersonal distance were taken by the experimenter following each of the interviews.

We expected differences in interviewees' nonverbal presentations depending on the job descriptions they received. However, no condition effects were found for any of the nonverbal behaviors. The 2 (gender) x 2 (self-monitoring) x 3 (self-presentational goal) analyses of variance (ANOVAs) conducted on the nonverbal measures revealed a main effect of gender for interpersonal distance $F(1, 100) = 4.241$, $p < .04$ and a gender

by self-monitoring interaction on percentage of eye contact displayed by interviewees $F(1, 100) = 5.812$, $p < .02$ (Figure 1). It is necessary to use caution when interpreting gender effects as same-sex interviewers were used in this study. Thus, male interviewees sat further away from male interviewers than female interviewees sat from female interviewers (M = 60.42 vs. M = 56.09). In addition, low self-monitoring men showed a somewhat greater percentage of eye contact with their same-sex interviewers than did low self-monitoring women (M = 58% vs. M = 53%), while high self-monitoring women showed greater eye contact with their partners than high self-monitoring men (M = 63% vs. M = 53%), although neither of these differences were significant when adjusted for Type 1 error ($t(57) = 1.271$, ns. and $t(52) = 1.98$, ns., respectively).[1]

Ratings of Videotape Segments

Segments of the interviews were shown without sound to judges who rated interviewees' competence, likability anxiousness, fear, happiness, and anger.

Competence and Likability

ANOVAs conducted on judges' ratings of interviewees' levels of competence and likability revealed an interaction between self-monitoring and self-presentational condition of the interviewee for the competence measure $F(2, 101) = 4.115$, $p < .02$ (Figure 2). While high self-monitors were rated as somewhat more competent ($M = 4.48$) than low self-monitors in the self-promotion condition ($M = 3.91$) and low self-monitors were rated as somewhat more competent ($M = 4.42$) than high self-monitors in the ingratiation condition ($M = 4.00$), neither of these comparisons were significant after

[1] All post-hoc contrasts were submitted to the Bonferroni procedure in order to control for Type 1 errors.

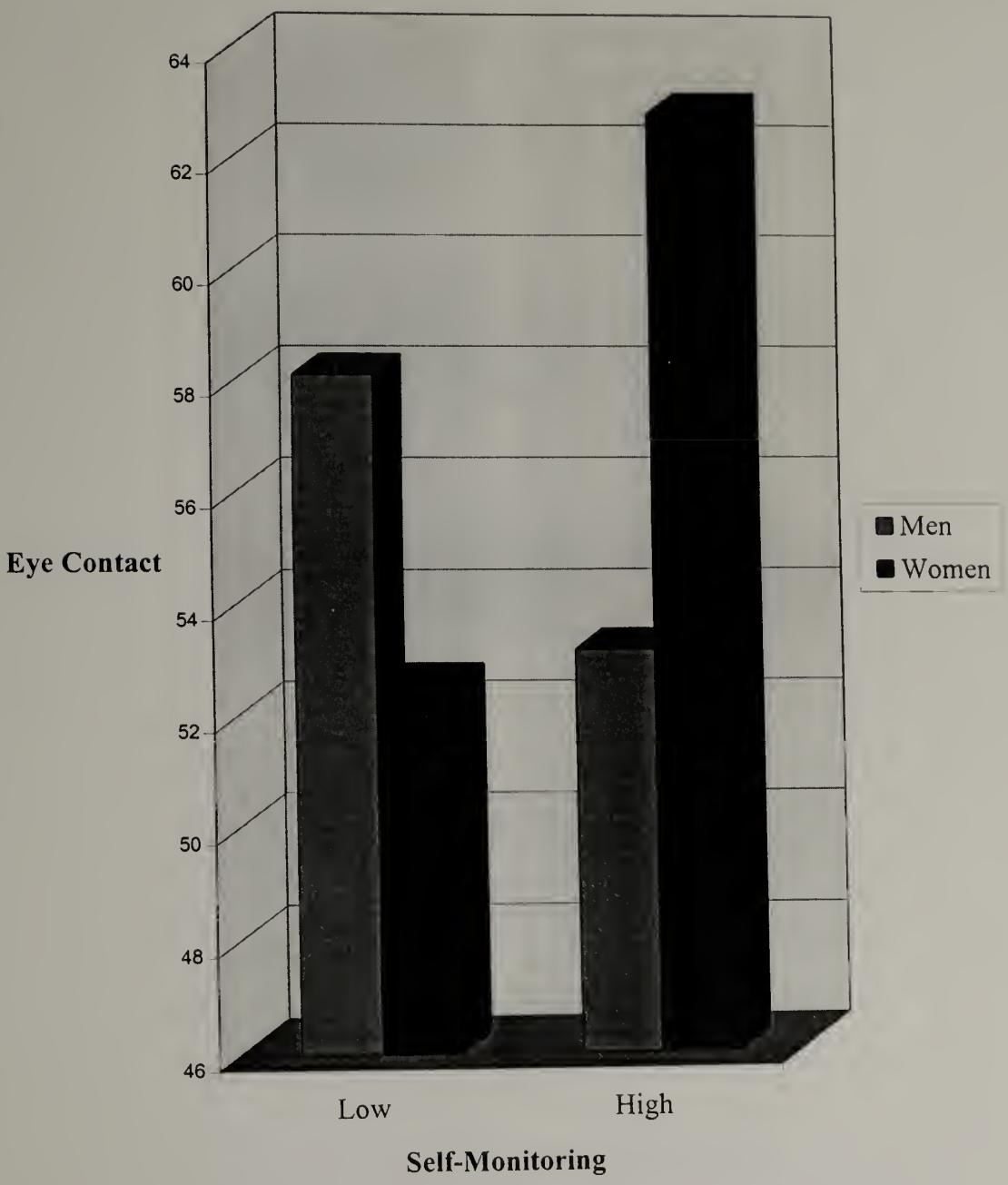


Figure 1. Percentage of Eye Contact Displayed by Men and Women High and Low in Self-Monitoring.

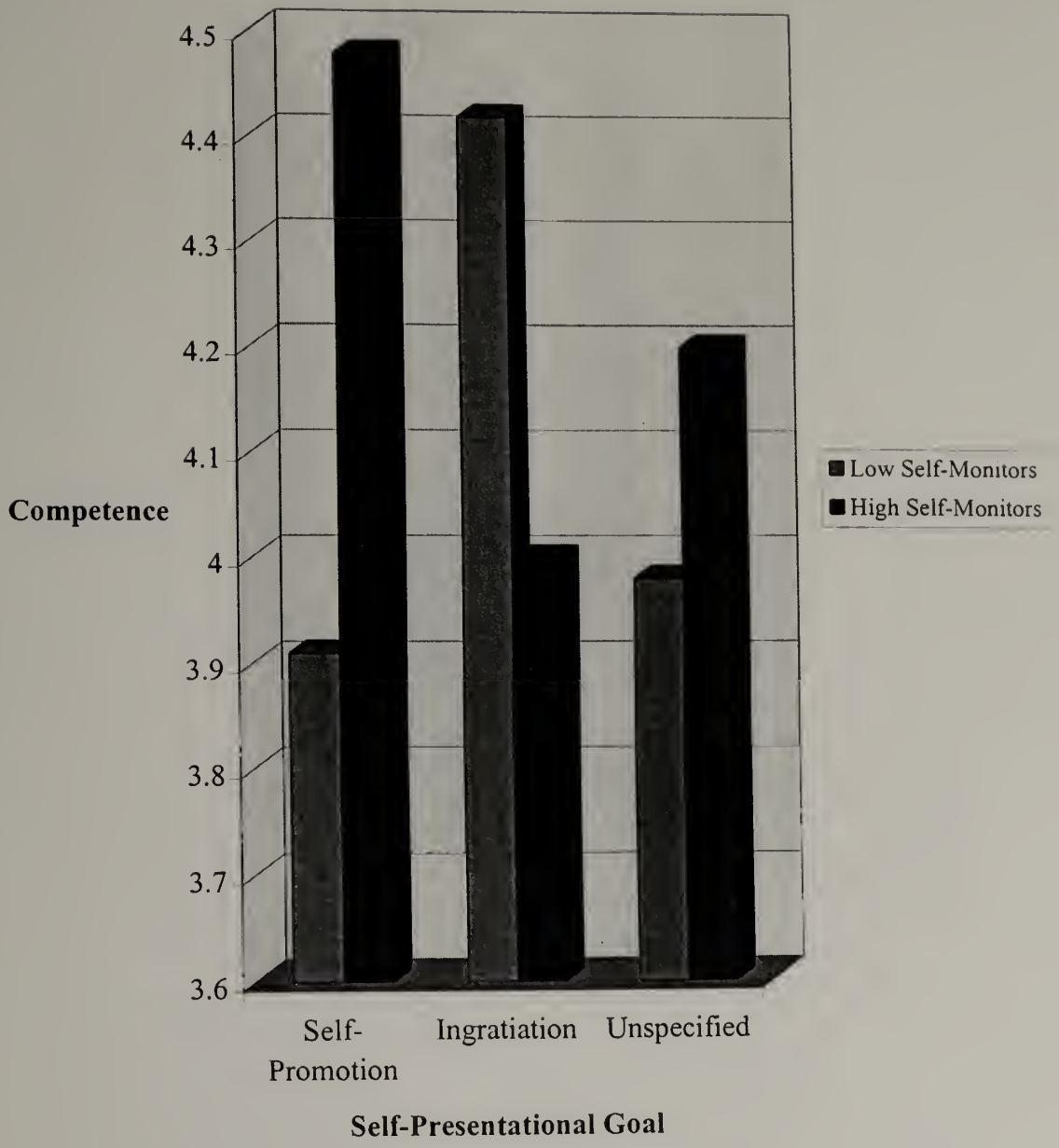


Figure 2. Competence Ratings Assigned to High and Low Self-Monitors Differing in Self-Presentational Goal.

controlling for Type 1 error ($t(37) = 2.105$, ns. and $t(33) = 1.360$, ns.). No significant effects were found for ratings of likability.

Emotion

Ratings of emotion were made twice for each interview; judges rated 15-second segments taken at the first and third minute of the interview. While not extraordinarily high, correlations between these ratings were all significant (anger, $r = .24$; anxious, $r = .44$; fearfulness, $r = .49$; happiness, $r = .52$), so composite variables of time 1 and time 2 were created for each emotion. Furthermore, given their similarity, our measures of anxiousness and fear were combined to form an overall measure of expressed anxiety ($\alpha = .7904$).

Analyses of variance conducted on judges' ratings of emotion revealed two main effects for self-monitoring on anxiety and happiness ($F(1, 101) = 5.974$, $p < .02$, and $F(1, 101) = 3.827$, $p < .05$, respectively). Low self-monitoring interviewees were perceived as more anxious and less happy than high self-monitoring interviewees (anxiety: low SM = 3.34, high SM = 3.07; happiness: low SM = 3.75, high SM = 4.09).

Interviewer Ratings

The types of information to which the interviewers (confederates) and the judges were exposed and the tasks in which they were engaged were qualitatively different. Judges' viewed 15-sec, silent video clips, while interviewers were actively involved in running an interview and controlling their nonverbal expressivity. Therefore, it is not surprising that the ratings of the interviewers and the judges of the videotape clips differed. In fact, relatively low correlations were found between interviewers' and judges' ratings for all variables (anger, $r = -.11$; likability, $r = .14$; competence, $r = .25$;

fearfulness, $r = .30$; happiness, $r = .43$). In light of these differences, the data from the interviewers were considered separately from the data of the judges.

Following each participant's interview, the confederate who had served as the interviewer rated the participant on their hirability, likability, competence, and levels of positive and negative emotion. The confederates interviewed same-sex participants but were blind to condition. Confederates were given a copy of the unspecified job description and asked to make their ratings based on the extent to which participants met the requirements of the stated position.

Hirability, Competence, and Likability

ANOVAs conducted on interviewers' ratings of participants' interview performances revealed a marginal main effect of self-monitoring on hirability $F(1, 108) = 3.009$, $p < .09$, and a significant main effect of self-monitoring on competence $F(1, 108) = 5.038$, $p < .03$. High self-monitors were rated as somewhat more hirable ($M = 5.26$) and more competent ($M = 5.46$) than low self-monitors (hirability $M = 4.86$; competence $M = 4.98$). No significant effects were found for interviewers' ratings of likability.

Emotion

Main effects of self-monitoring and self-presentational goal were found for interviewers' ratings of happiness ($F(1, 108) = 4.872$, $p < .03$, and $F(2, 108) = 4.227$, $p < .02$, respectively), such that high self-monitors appeared happier ($M = 5.14$) than low self-monitors ($M = 4.65$) and interviewees in the self-promotion ($M = 5.16$) and ingratiation conditions ($M = 5.05$) each appeared somewhat happier than interviewees in the control condition ($M = 4.41$) although individually these differences were not significant. In addition, a main effect of gender was found for anger $F(1, 108) = 11.792$,

$p < .001$, such that male interviewees were rated as more angry ($M = 2.80$) than female interviewees ($M = 2.02$). It should be noted again, though, that each interview was conducted by a same-sex interviewer, and therefore interpretation of this finding is difficult. While it is possible that male interviewees displayed more anger than female interviewees, this finding was not replicated in our analysis of judges' ratings, and therefore the possibility that male interviewers simply rate other men as more angry than female interviewers rating other women cannot be dismissed. Our analysis revealed no significant results for level of fearfulness displayed by interviewees.

Summary

Based on the literature, we predicted main effects of self-presentational goal on interviewees' nonverbal behaviors and levels of emotion, as well as interactions between self-presentational goal and gender and between self-presentational goal and self-monitoring. The expected effects of and interactions with self-presentational goal were not found. Analyses revealed only two significant results involving self-presentational goal: a main effect for interviewer ratings of level of happiness and an interaction with self-monitoring for judges' ratings of competence. Instead, the majority of the effects found related to the interviewees' level of self-monitoring. High self-monitors were perceived by judges as being less anxious, by interviewers as more competent and somewhat more hirable, and by both judges and interviewers as happier than low self-monitors. The only significant effects on nonverbal behavior were a main effect of gender of the interviewee on interpersonal distance with women sitting closer to the same-sex interviewer than men, and an interaction between gender and level of self-monitoring on percentage of eye contact.

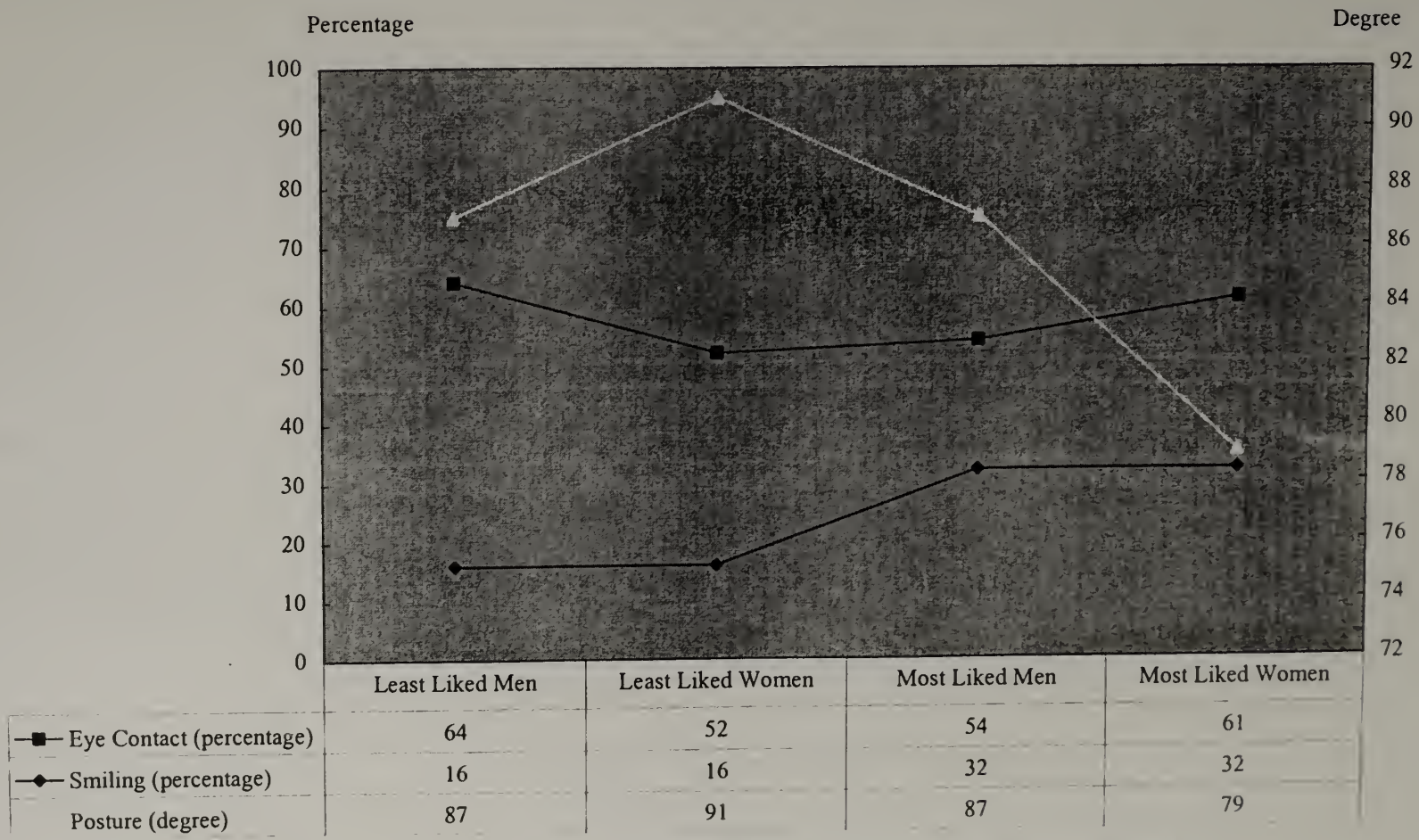
Secondary Analyses

The initial purpose of this study was to identify the effects of self-presentational goals on nonverbal behaviors. As our self-presentational goal manipulation did not produce significant differences in the production of nonverbal behaviors we chose to measure, additional analyses were conducted in order to differentiate the nonverbal behaviors of those individuals identified as most and least likable and competent.

The nonverbal behaviors of those participants receiving the highest and lowest ratings of likability (participants rated in the upper or lower quartiles; upper quartile likability $\underline{M} = 5.22$; lower quartile likability $\underline{M} = 3.11$) were examined through the use of 2 (gender of participant) x 2 (most or least likable) ANOVAs. Analyses of likability revealed a main effect of likability on percentage of smiling $\underline{F}(1, 48) = 9.659$, $\underline{p} < .003$, a significant gender x likability interaction on percentage of eye contact $\underline{F}(1,48) = 4.799$, $\underline{p} < .03$, and a marginal main effect of likability $\underline{F}(1,48) = 3.211$, $\underline{p} < .08$, and marginal gender x likability interaction on body posture $\underline{F}(1,48) = 3.293$, $\underline{p} < .08$. High likability was associated with a higher percentage of smiling ($\underline{M} = 32\%$ vs. $\underline{M} = 16\%$) and somewhat less straight body posture than low likability ($\underline{M} = 83°$ vs. $\underline{M} = 89°$). While it appeared that high likability was associated with low eye contact for men ($\underline{M} = 54\%$) but with high eye contact for women ($\underline{M} = 61\%$) and that the reverse was true for low likability (men $\underline{M} = 64\%$, women $\underline{M} = 52\%$), neither of these differences registered as significant after applying the Bonferroni Procedure to control for Type 1 error ($\underline{t}(24) = 1.063$, ns. and $\underline{t}(24) = 2.101$, $\underline{p} < .15$, respectively). A significant difference between ratings of high and low likability was found for women's body posture; low likability was associated with women displaying the straightest posture ($\underline{M} = 91°$), while high likability

was associated with women displaying more relaxed posture ($M = 79°$, $t(25) = 3.15$, $p < .05$). There were no significant effects of likability on interviewees' interpersonal distance from the interviewer. This is most likely due to the fact that likability ratings were made based on videotaped portions of the interviews in which it is very difficult to judge interpersonal distance as only the interviewee is captured on tape.

Similar analyses examining the nonverbal behaviors of those participants receiving the highest and lowest ratings of competence (participants rated in the upper or lower quartiles; upper quartile $M = 5.26$; lower quartile $M = 3.30$) did not reveal any significant differences in displays of nonverbal behavior. Thus, based on the means of male and female interviewers identified as most and least likable, we identified four distinct profiles of nonverbal behaviors (Figure 3). These profiles were used as the basis of Study 2.



	Least Liked Men	Least Liked Women	Most Liked Men	Most Liked Women
Eye Contact (percentage)	64	52	54	61
Smiling (percentage)	16	16	32	32
Posture (degree)	87	91	87	79

Figure 3. Nonverbal Behaviors of Men and Women Rated Most and Least Likable.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 2

Results of Study 1 suggested a relationship between ratings of high and low likability and specific nonverbal displays. In Study 2 we sought to actively manipulate these displays and measure the resulting ratings of likability while holding the verbal content of these interviews constant. In addition, we were interested in how gender of the interviewee would affect the impact of these nonverbal displays.

Method

Overview

Analysis of male and female interviewees receiving the highest and lowest ratings of likability in Study 1 were used to construct prototypes of nonverbal behaviors. Confederate men and women were videotaped while giving interviews which were standardized for verbal content but during which they displayed the nonverbal behaviors of either men rated most likable, women rated most likable, men rated least likable, or women rated least likable in Study 1 (see Figure 3). Participants viewed one interview and made ratings of the interviewee's hirability, friendliness, ability to interact with people, competence, likability, and positive and negative level of emotion.

Participants

Three hundred four undergraduate psychology students (117 men and 188 women) participated in this study for extra credit. One woman was removed from our analyses due to a lack of fluency in the English language.

Procedure

Stimulus Materials

Using the interview questions from Study 1, a script was constructed based on a combination of subjects' answers from Study 1. Interviewees' scripted answers were constructed to be neither outstanding, nor terrible, but to allow for variation in ratings (Appendix G). Four confederates, two men and two women, were trained to respond to an interviewer's questions with the scripted responses. These confederates were also trained to exhibit the specific levels of nonverbal behaviors identified in Study 1 as being associated with the highest ratings of liking for men and women, and those identified as being associated with the lowest ratings of liking for men and women. These interviews were videotaped and each interview was coded for level of nonverbal behavior until all confederates had produced interviews in which they displayed each of the prototypes of nonverbal behaviors. All interviews were coded by two experimenters for percentage of time spent smiling, percentage of eye contact, and body position and the two sets of ratings were correlated to produce reliabilities for each of the nonverbal behaviors (percentage of time smiling r = .88; percentage of eye contact r = .92; body position r = .96). Sixteen interviews were ultimately created: 4 (number of confederates: two men, two women) x 4 (nonverbal prototype of interviewee: least liked men, least liked women, most liked men, most liked women). These interviews were used as stimulus materials for Study 2.

General Procedure

Participants were invited into the laboratory in groups ranging in size from one to three. They were presented with a similar cover story to the one used in Study 1.

Participants were informed that the experimenter was a researcher at the University of Massachusetts working with professors in the Psychology Department and Business School who have a grant to study the job interview process and who have recently formed an alliance with the Marriot Hotel Corporation. They were told that we were interested in the degree to which the student interviewers were able to select the best candidates for the position. All participants were given the job description emphasizing the goal of likability and given a chance to read it through. Each group then watched one of the interviews and evaluated the applicant's performance and self-presentation on a number of dimensions.

Dependent Variables

Participants rated the interviewees on overall hirability, ability to interact with others and likely friendliness on the job, competence, likability, and level of positive and negative emotion displayed using 11-point Likert-type scales ranging from *not at all* (1) to *very* (11) (Appendix H).

Results

A 2 (gender of interviewee: male or female) x 2 (gender of participant: male or female) x 4 (nonverbal condition of interviewee: behaviors of least liked men, behaviors of least liked women, behaviors of most liked men, behaviors of most liked women) between-subject design was used to analyze participants' responses to the interviews. Main effects for nonverbal prototype and interviewee gender, as well as interactions between nonverbal prototype and gender of the interviewee were predicted.[2]

[2] As we were interested in multiple paired comparisons in Study 2, the means of the nonverbal prototypes were compared using Duncan's multiple-range test. All reported differences are significant at $p < .05$.

Interview Performance

Three questions were used by participants to evaluate interviewees' performance: (1) *Based on the job description, how likely would you be to hire this person*; (2) *How friendly would this interviewee appear on the job*; and (3) *How well do you think this interviewee would interact with people on the job.* All three of these questions were answered on scales ranging from *not at all* (1) to *very* (11). The alpha reliablity of these three questions was quite high ($\alpha = .91$), and therefore the mean of these questions served as our measure of interview performance.

A 2 (interviewee gender) x 2 (participant gender) x 4 (nonverbal prototype) ANOVA conducted on participants' combined ratings of interviewees' performances revealed the predicted main effect for nonverbal prototype, $F(3, 288) = 3.209$, $p < .02$. Interviewees displaying the behaviors attributed to the least liked women from Study 1 received lower interview performance scores ($M = 6.68$) as compared to the interviewees displaying the behaviors of the most liked women ($M = 7.60$), while the ratings of interviewees displaying the behaviors attributed to the least liked and most liked men did not differ significantly (LLM, $M = 7.11$; MLM, $M = 7.20$). A marginally significant main effect of interviewee gender, $F(1, 288) = 3.31$, $p < .07$ was also revealed, indicating that, overall, male interviewees received higher performance scores than female interviewees. Finally, we found a significant interaction between interviewee gender and nonverbal condition for interview performance, $F(3, 288) = 3.32$, $p < .02$ (Figure 4), such that male interviewees exhibiting the behaviors of the most highly liked men received significantly higher ratings than the male interviewees exhibiting the behaviors of the

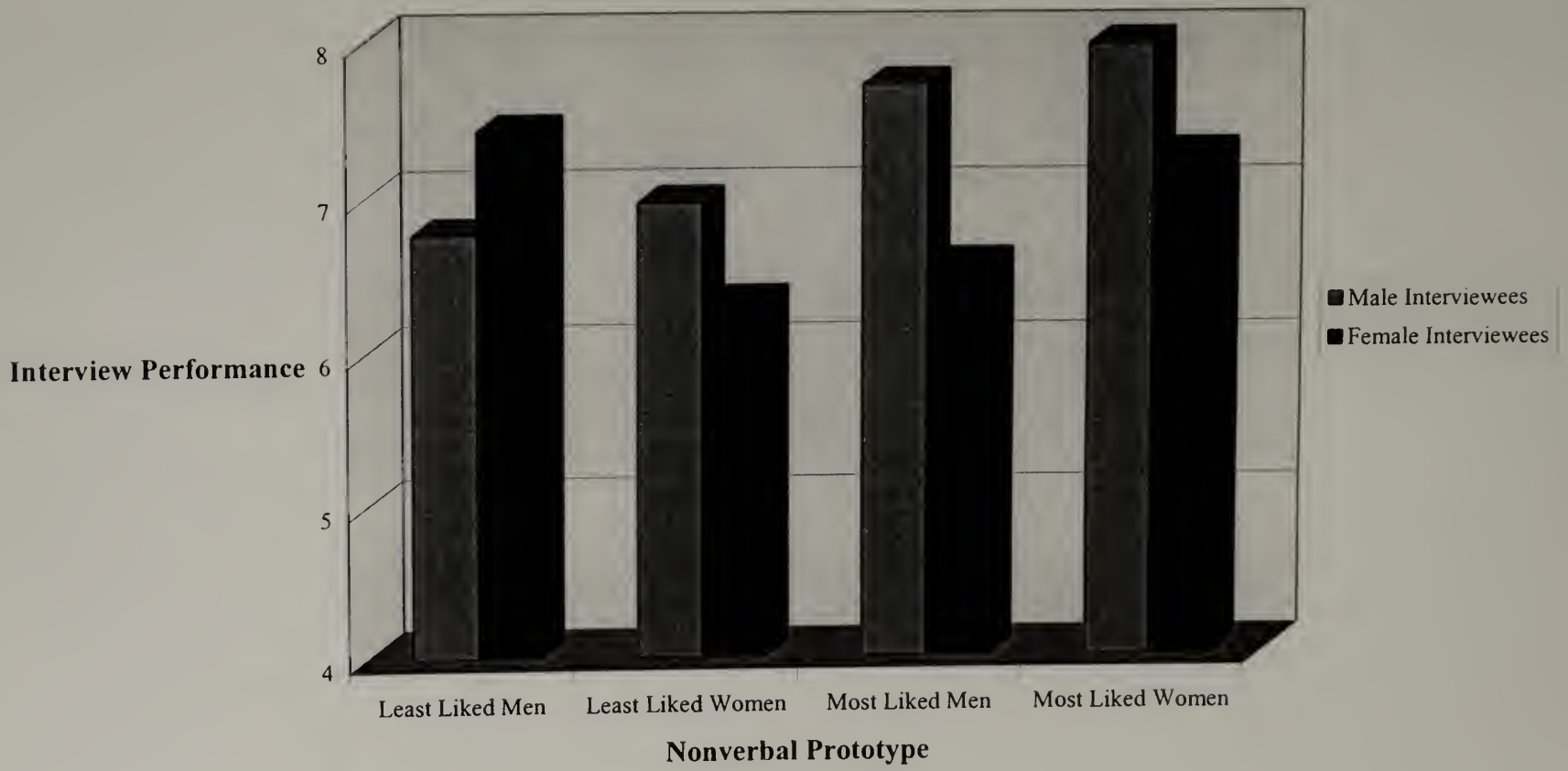


Figure 4. Interview Performance Ratings for Male and Female Interviewees Differing in Nonverbal Prototype.

least liked men (M = 7.72 vs. M = 6.77) and the male interviewees exhibiting the behaviors of the most highly liked women (M = 7.98) received significantly higher ratings in their interviews than those men exhibiting the behaviors of the least liked men and women (M = 6.77 and M = 6.97, respectively). Female interviewees only received significantly different interview ratings when displaying the behaviors of the least liked men as compared to the ratings they received when displaying the behaviors of the least liked women (M = 7.43 vs. M = 6.33).

Competence and Likability

ANOVAs conducted on participants' ratings of interviewees' competence and likability revealed significant main effects of interviewee gender for both variables ($F(1,288) = 7.44$, $p < .007$ and $F(1,288) = 8.00$, $p < .005$, respectfully). Male interviewees received higher ratings of both competence (M = 7.39 vs. M = 6.78) and likability (M = 8.06 vs. M = 7.46) as compared to female interviewees. These results were surprising as no effects of gender on likability were found in Study 1. Furthermore, in a previous study conducted by Levine and Feldman (1997), female partners were actually rated as more likable by both their same-sex partners and naive judges. One difference between that previous study and the present study, though, was the setting of the interaction. Levine and Feldman were examining social interactions between individuals meeting for the first time and that context clearly differs from a job interview setting.

In addition to effects of interviewee gender, a marginally significant main effect of nonverbal prototype was revealed for likability $F(3, 288) = 2.56$, $p < .06$, with interviewees exhibiting the nonverbal behaviors of the most liked women receiving

somewhat higher ratings of likability (M = 8.19) than those interviewees exhibiting the other nonverbal prototypes (LLM, M = 7.59; LLW, M = 7.46; MLM, M = 7.84; t(302) = 2.27, p < .15).

Just as found with participants' ratings of interviewee performance, significant interactions were found between interviewee gender and nonverbal condition for competence and likability (F(3, 288) = 2.90, p < .04 and F(3, 288) = 3.24, p < .02, respectively; Figures 5 and 6). Not surprising, male interviewees were rated as significantly more competent and likable when they exhibited those nonverbal behaviors associated with the highest ratings of likability for men in Study 1 (MLM, M competence = 7.97, M likability = 8.63) as compared with those male interviewees exhibiting those behaviors associated with the lowest ratings (LLM, M competence = 6.63, M likability = 7.55). Not so clear is why similar comparisons for female interviewees' exhibiting the behaviors of the most liked women (M competence = 6.70; M likability = 7.93) and least liked women (M competence = 6.94; M likability = 7.24) were not significant. Further examination of the ratings of likability revealed that male interviewees displaying the behaviors of the most liked men and women (M = 8.63 and M = 8.49) differed significantly from those male interviewees displaying the behaviors of the least liked women (M = 7.65), and male interviewees displaying the behaviors of the most liked men and women also differed significantly from those male interviewees displaying the behaviors of the least liked men (M = 7.55). Ratings of likability for female interviewees differed significantly only when they exhibited the behaviors of the most liked women as compared to the most liked men (M = 7.93 vs. M = 6.91).

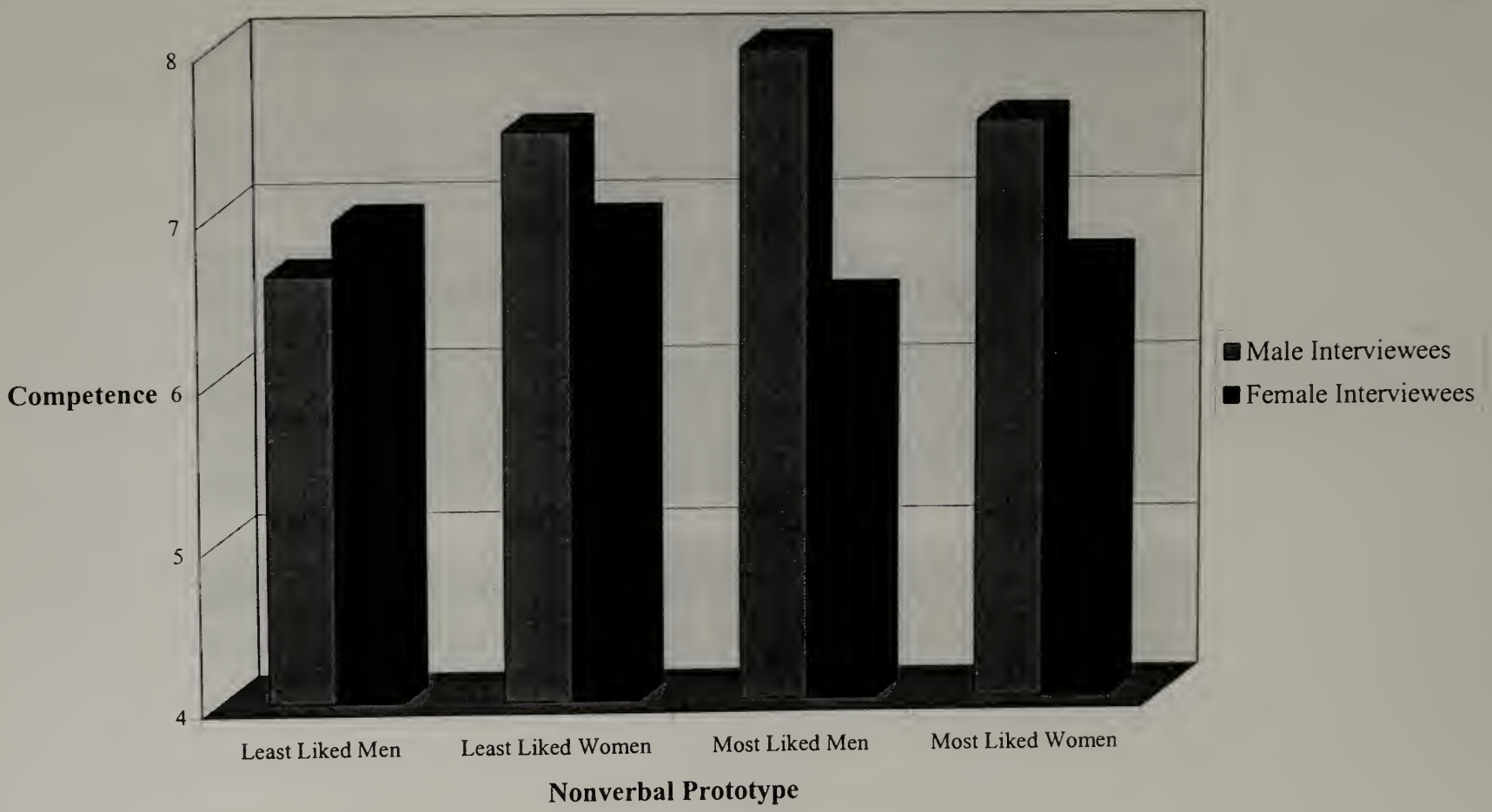


Figure 5. Competence Ratings for Male and Female Interviewees Differing in Nonverbal Prototype.

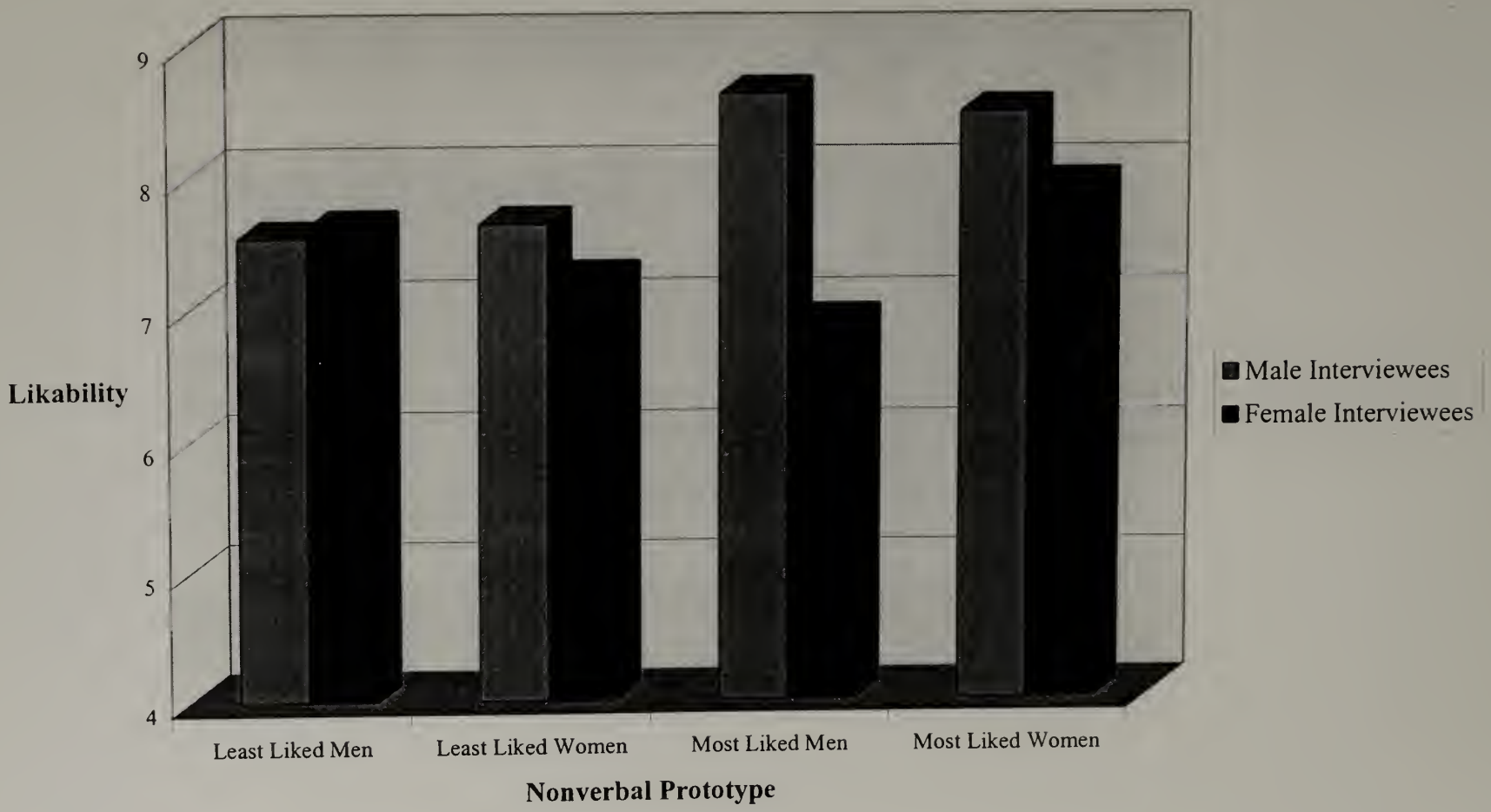


Figure 6. Likability Ratings for Male and Female Interviewees Differing in Nonverbal Prototype.

Finally, a 3-way interaction between interviewee gender, nonverbal prototype, and participant gender was revealed for participants' ratings of interviewee competence $F(3, 288) = 3.17$, $p < .03$ (Figure 7).

Emotion

Four emotions were measured following participants' viewing of one of the videotaped interviews: happiness, anxiousness, fear, and anger. As in Study 1, our measures of anxiousness and fear were combined to form an overall measure of expressed anxiety ($\alpha = .7437$). When this measure of anxiety was analyzed, main effects of nonverbal prototype, $F(3, 288) = 3.634$, $p < .01$, and participant gender, $F(1, 288) = 8.309$, $p < .004$, were revealed. Participants identified interviewees as significantly more anxious when they displayed the nonverbal behaviors previously identified as least liked women ($M = 6.57$) as compared to those interviewees displaying the nonverbal behaviors previously identified as most liked (MLM, $M = 5.64$; MLW, $M = 5.60$). In addition, an interaction between gender of the interviewee and nonverbal prototype was identified, $F(3, 288) = 6.304$, $p < .000$ (Figure 8), such that male interviewees appeared most anxious when displaying the nonverbal behaviors of least liked men ($M = 6.91$) as compared to male interviewees displaying the behaviors of the other nonverbal prototypes (LLW, $M = 5.70$; MLM, $M = 5.37$; MLW, $M = 5.38$) while female interviewees appeared most anxious when displaying the nonverbal behaviors of least liked women ($M = 7.59$) as compared to female interviewees displaying the behaviors of the other nonverbal prototypes (LLM, $M = 5.70$; MLM, $M = 5.97$; MLW, $M = 5.81$).

As with anxiety, a main effect of nonverbal prototype, $F(3, 288) = 9.565$, $p < .000$, and an interaction between interviewee gender and nonverbal prototype, $F(3, 288) =$

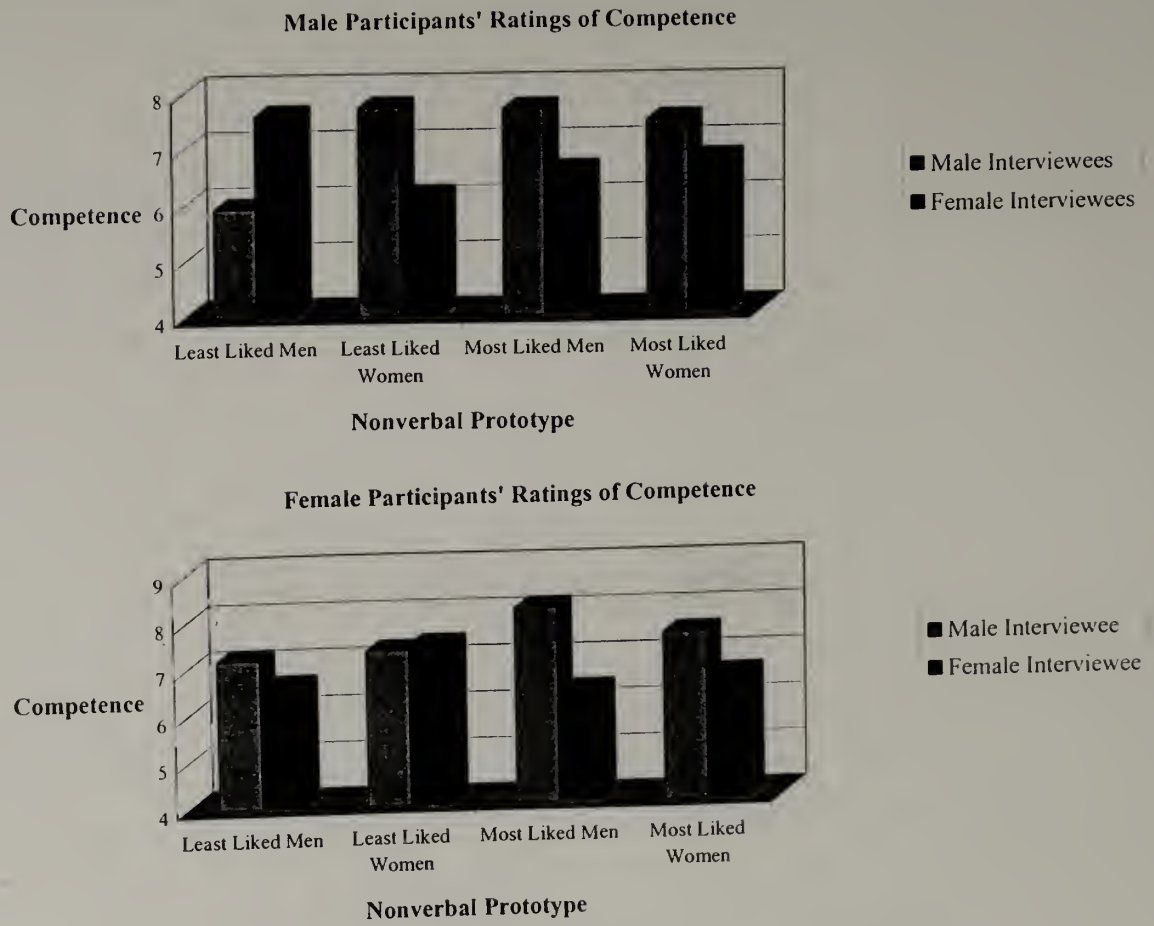


Figure 7. Competence Ratings Assigned by Male and Female Participants to Male and Female Interviewees Differing in Nonverbal Prototype.

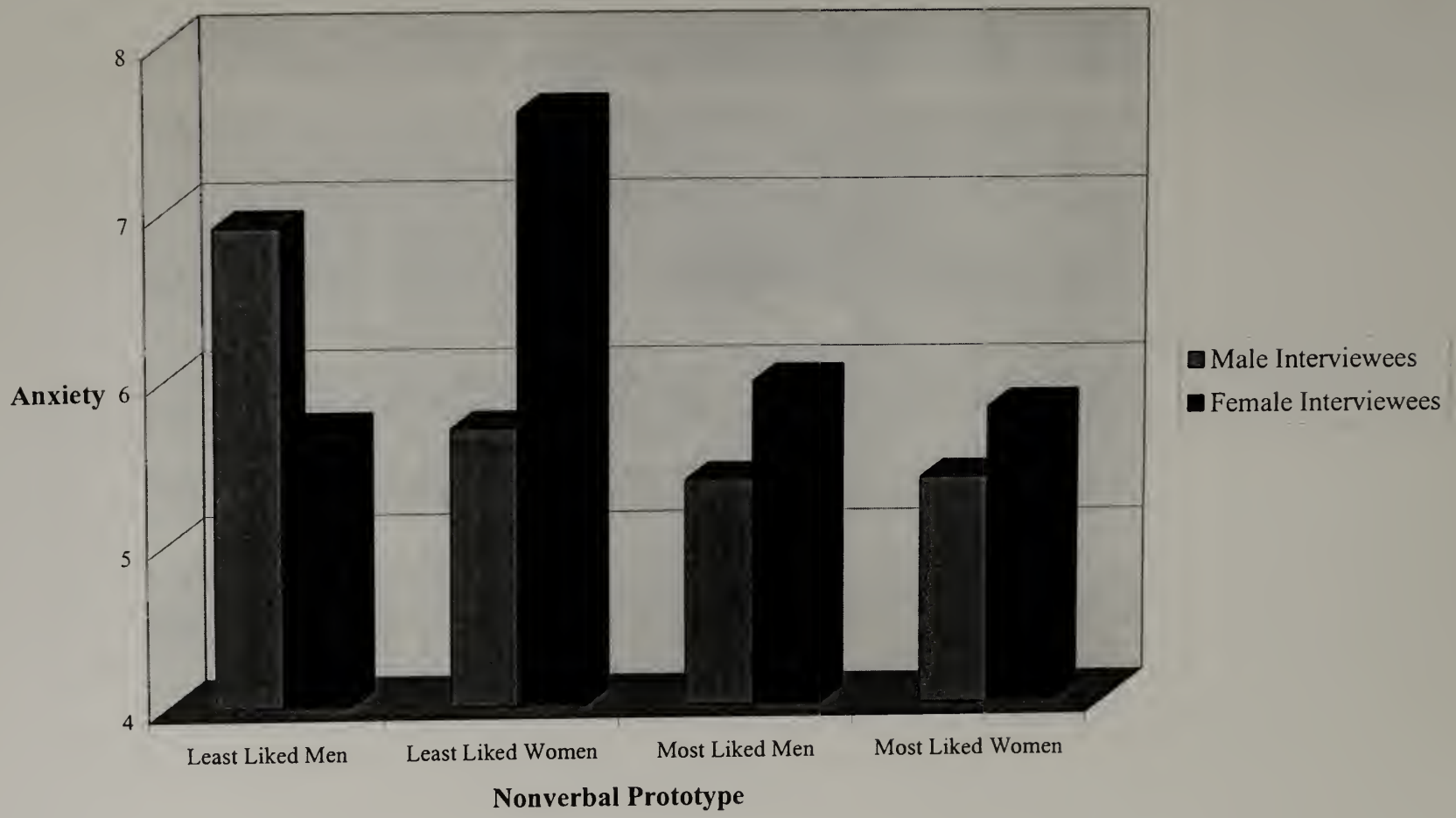


Figure 8. Anxiety Ratings for Male and Female Interviewees Differing in Nonverbal Prototype.

2.694, $p < .05$ (Figure 9) were found for participants' ratings of interviewees' levels of happiness. Both male and female interviewees received significantly higher ratings of happiness when displaying the behaviors of the most liked women (male interviewees, $M = 7.78$; female interviewees, $M = 8.28$) as compared to when they displayed the behaviors of the least liked men or women (male interviewees: LLM, $M = 6.70$; LLW, $M = 6.60$; female interviewees: LLM, $M = 7.37$; LLW, $M = 6.21$), and received significantly higher ratings when displaying the behaviors of the most liked men (male interviewees, $M = 7.87$; female interviewees, $M = 6.97$) as compared to the ratings received when displaying the behaviors of the least liked women. In addition, significant differences in happiness ratings existed only for male interviewees between displays of the most liked men and least liked men ($M = 7.87$ vs. $M = 6.70$), and only for female interviewees between displays of the most liked women and least liked men ($M = 8.28$ vs. $M = 7.37$).

Due to the disproportionate numbers of male and female participants in this study, we had some concern regarding a possible violation of the assumption of homogeneity of variance in our ANOVAs. For this reason, Levene Tests for Homogeneity of Variances were performed on all dependent measures. Participants' ratings of anger was the only measure that violated the assumption of homogeneity (Levene Statistic = 12.48, $p < .000$). Male participants' ratings of anger were more variable ($v = 3.86$) than female participants' ratings of anger ($v = 1.78$). When submitted to an analysis of variance, a main effect of participant gender was the only effect to emerge, $F(1, 288) = 12.843$, $p < .000$, such that male participants perceived interviewees as more angry than female participants ($M = 2.50$ vs. $M = 1.83$).

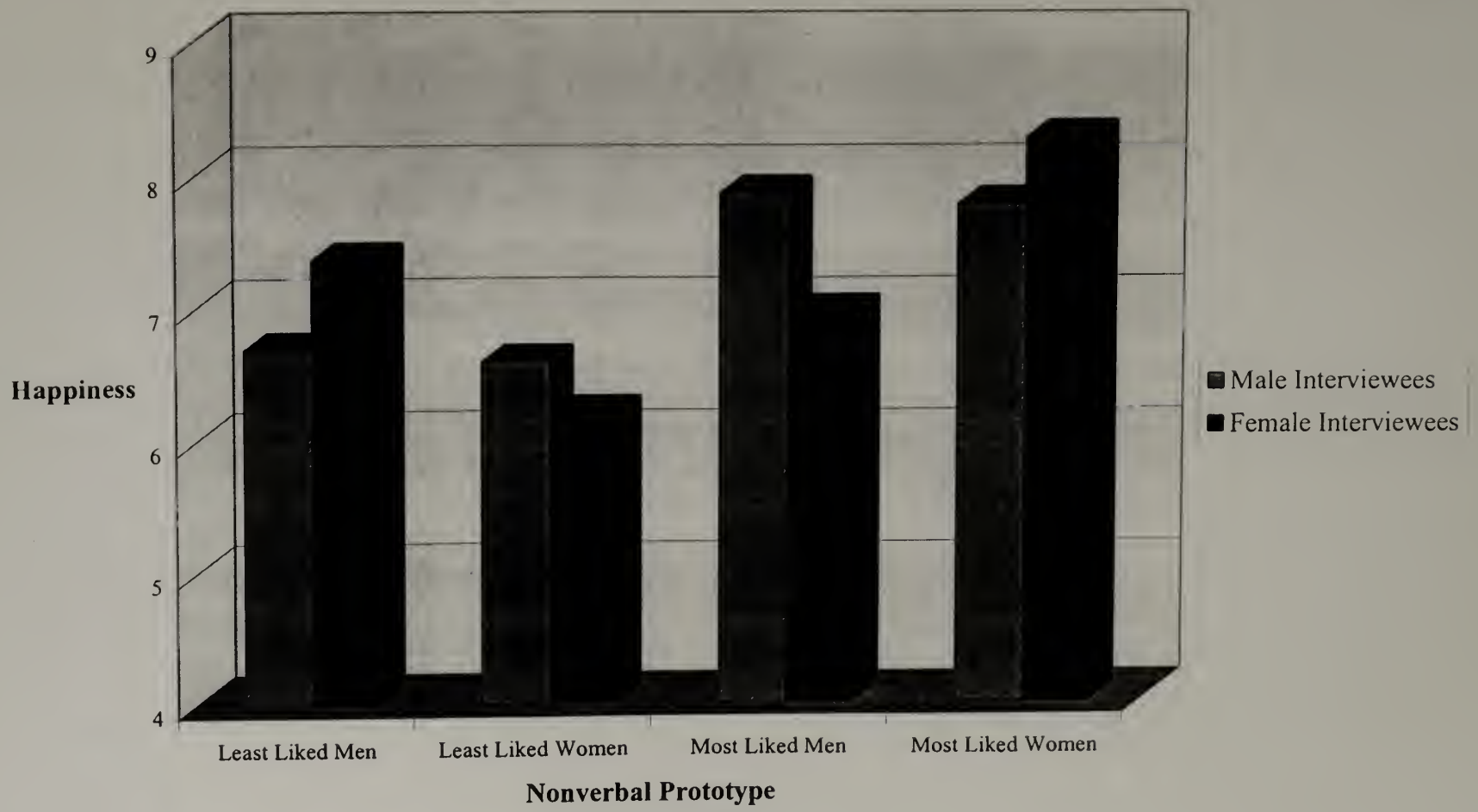


Figure 9. Happiness Ratings for Male and Female Interviewees Differing in Nonverbal Prototype.

Summary

Based on the results of Study 1 we expected to find differences in participants' ratings of interviewees based on nonverbal prototype and interviewee gender, as well as interactions between nonverbal prototype and interviewee gender, and this is exactly what we found. Participants' ratings of interview performance, happiness, and anxiety were all significantly affected by nonverbal prototype, and ratings of likability were marginally affected by prototype. Interviewee gender significantly influenced ratings of competence and likability, and had a marginal effect on ratings of interview performance. Finally, nonverbal prototype and interviewee gender interacted to produce significant effects for all variables except level of anger (interview performance, likability, competence, happiness, and anxiety). This interaction suggests that the performance of the same sets of nonverbal behaviors by male and female interviewees are received and evaluated quite differently.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

Nonverbal Behavior

A fairly typical preparatory text on job interviewing makes the following recommendations regarding nonverbal behavior in interviews:

> Make eye contact throughout the entire interview, but don't overdo it. You're not engaged in a staring contest with Clint Eastwood. And staring without pause at the interviewer will *not* make his day...Keep an eye on your body--figuratively, that is. Be sure that you don't slouch, which may convey an impression of laziness or sloppiness. On the other hand, don't sit there like a Marine at attention. It will make you seem edgy, overly aggressive, a real "Type A" personality. (Fry, 1991, p. 88)

The usefulness of these particular pieces of advice depends on two things: a relationship between nonverbal displays in general and outcome of job interviews, and an association between the somewhat vague levels of nonverbal behaviors suggested and better interview outcomes. At the broadest level, the present set of studies indicates that nonverbal behaviors can influence ratings received by applicants in mock interviews. Study 1 demonstrates that different levels and combinations of nonverbal behaviors are associated with higher or lower ratings of likability, and Study 2 demonstrates that these specific collections of nonverbal behaviors elicited by confederate interviewees lead to differential ratings of interview performance.

These findings are supported by a somewhat limited history of work examining the effects of nonverbal behavior in interview settings. Anderson and Shackelton (1990) found that greater eye contact, more positive facial expressions, and more frequent postural changes by applicants in graduate selection interviews differentiated significantly between those applicants who were accepted and those who were rejected. In a study employing confederate interviewees, those interviewees demonstrating inhibited nonverbal behaviors (minimal eye contact, low energy level, lack of affect, low voice modulation, and lack of speech fluency) versus uninhibited nonverbal behaviors were rated significantly lower on almost every rating made by participants in the study (McGovern, Jones, & Morris, 1979). In fact, no interviewees exhibiting inhibited nonverbal behaviors were recommended for a second interview (see also McGovern & Tinsley, 1978). Finally, researchers have demonstrated that people who are skilled at encoding emotion and those individuals who are high self-monitors are evaluated more positively in initial encounters than are individuals unskilled at encoding and low self-monitors (Riggio & Friedman, 1986). Taken together, these studies indicate that job applicants' nonverbal behaviors can affect their hiring outcomes.

Is More Always Better?

Clearly, use of self-presentational tactics can aid in the formation of desired impressions. If one tactic works well, would not a plethora of tactics work even better? Much of the work on nonverbal self-presentation has been conducted with applicants or partners employing relatively "high" or "low" amounts of nonverbal or expressive behaviors, and, in general, job applicants and/or interaction partners demonstrating greater amounts of eye contact, head moving, and smiling, and other nonverbal behaviors

were rated higher than those individuals displaying lower amounts of nonverbal behavior (e.g., Young & Beier, 1977). In a study conducted by McGovern and Tinsley (1978), 23 of the 26 participants who saw an interviewee displaying a "high" level of nonverbal behavior (high eye contact, energy level, affect, voice modulation, and speech fluency) would have invited the interviewee back for a second interview. Twenty-six of the 26 participants who saw a candidate displaying a "low" level of nonverbal behavior would not have recommended a second interview for that applicant. At first glance, then, it seems that more is better when it comes to self-presentation.

Our finding of a main effect of nonverbal prototype on ratings of interviewee performance in Study 2 might encourage us to advise that a higher level of nonverbal behaviors is preferable for all interviewees. In this study, interviewees displaying a relatively high amount of eye contact (61% of the time) and smiling (32% of the time), and a more relaxed posture (79°) received the highest interview performance ratings (most liked women nonverbal prototype).

However, the significant interaction between interviewee gender and nonverbal condition suggests that the impact of the nonverbal behaviors differs depending on the gender of the interviewee. While for male interviewees the interview ratings of the most liked women prototype differed from the least liked women prototype, and both the most liked men and most liked women prototypes differed from the least like men nonverbal prototype, the only prototypes differing in interview ratings for female interviewees was the least liked men and women prototypes. Additionally, many more significant differences were seen between nonverbal prototypes for male interviewees on ratings of likability and competence than for female interviewees. Thus male interviewees' ratings

were substantially more affected by specific prototype than the female interviewees' ratings, which appeared to be more static across nonverbal prototype.

It is possible that this stability is due to differences in expectations regarding the nonverbal presentations of men and women. Participants viewing these interviews may have expected a certain nonverbal presentation from female interviewees and therefore may not have been fully affected by the interviewees' actual nonverbal presentations. Dubrin (1991) noted that it is often difficult to separate actual sex differences from expected sex differences. While examining influence tactics employed by bank employees, DuBrin identified some limited sex differences in men and women's uses of influence tactics, but these differences were deemed so small as to be insignificant. What were more significant were the gender differences found.

DuBrin made a distinction between actual differences (sex differences) and the perceptions people hold regarding the differences between men and women (gender differences). Examination of gender differences revealed that men are perceived as more likely to manipulate situations, be assertive, joke or kid, and threaten punishments, while women are more likely to use charm, appearance, ingratiation, and compliments. Even if these differences do not objectively exist in the "average" social interaction, nevertheless the perception that they exist may be enough to influence the outcome of an interaction. While we have no direct support for this idea, it is possible that these expectations are stronger for women than men, and therefore, when our female interviewees displayed different levels of nonverbal behaviors, the participants were not as receptive to these differences as with the male interviewees.

As we used the actual levels of nonverbal behaviors displayed by participants in Study 1 as our prototypes in Study 2 and did not systematically vary the levels of each nonverbal behavior, we were not able to separate out the effects of each individual behavior. Thus we cannot say that those individuals receiving the highest interview ratings were those showing the greatest amount of eye contact. Instead, the higher interview performance ratings earned by interviewees displaying the behaviors of the most liked women may not have been due to any one behavior, but to a combination of behaviors. It is possible that when people show a lot of eye contact while sitting perfectly straight they are perceived as intimidating, while if they show that same level of eye contact while in a more relaxed position, they are perceived as interested and sincere.

Implicit Self-Presentational Goals

One of the main purposes of the present studies was to examine the effects of implicit self-presentational goals (focus of job description) on the nonverbal and emotional displays of interviewees. Yet, we were only able to find two significant effects involving self-presentational goal. Responses to our manipulation check (asking interviewees in Study 1 to identify the main requirements of the job for which they just interviewed) indicated that participants had some difficulty recalling the self-presentational goal on which we had hoped they were focused. This poor recall, though, does not necessarily mean that participants were not affected by the different goals.

Researchers have suggested that many self-presentational behaviors may be overlearned or unconscious rather than intentional (Hogan, 1982; Hogan, Jones, & Cheek, 1985; Schlenker, 1980). Strong situational or social cues implying one's dependency may lead to the production of ingratiating or supplicating behaviors, while

cues emphasizing one's competence may lead to the production of self-promoting or exemplifying behaviors, regardless of an individual's initial intent. Most likely, the intentionality of self-presentational behaviors lies along a continuum. Schlenker and Weigold (1992) suggest that impression motivation becomes more intentional as people develop an awareness that they can gain treasured outcomes by creating particular impressions of themselves for others.

The power of implicit situational goals is demonstrated in a recent study. Vorauer and Miller (1997) found that when undergraduates were initially given information about a prospective interviewer, they altered their self-presentations to match the sort of information they were given. They made these different self-presentations even while their reports of their own self-presentational behaviors indicated that they were not aware of the effects the initial information had on their presentations. Thus our self-presentational goal manipulation could have had an effect on participants' performance despite their poor recall of the manipulation.

If, for a moment, we assume that participants were affected by our self-presentational goal manipulation, it is possible that the nonverbal behaviors we selected for Study 1 were not appropriate for measuring differences in peoples' goal-directed self-presentations. This explanation does not seem likely, though. As mentioned earlier, a number of studies in which people have been instructed to ingratiate or self-promote to a partner have revealed effects of these goals on participants' levels of body posture, eye contact, smiling, and interpersonal distance (e.g., Aloise-Young, 1993; Godfrey, Jones, & Lord, 1986; Pellegrini, Hicks, & Gordon, 1970; Reiss & Rosenfeld, 1980). Thus, we had every reason to expect that these behaviors might also be employed by individuals with a

somewhat more implicit self-presentational goal. Perhaps, though, when people are exposed to implicit goals rather than given explicit instructions to present themselves in a given manner, the specific nonverbal behaviors triggered are different from those behaviors which are more deliberate and planned.

Another possibility as to why we did not find effects of self-presentational goal on nonverbal behavior may be because the interviewing situation in Study 1 was too novel for the undergraduates serving as interviewees. We invited undergraduate business students to participate in Study 1 because we hoped that they would have had more exposure to interviewing situations than the average undergraduate student, and this was probably the case; participants in Study 1 reported previously participating in an average of 4.38 interviews. Numerous students commented, though, that many of these interviews simply involved the review of their employment applications. We also have no information regarding the outcome of these interviews. When probed during the debriefing portion of the study about strategies used during the interview, a number of participants indicated that they "went into interview mode." If this is actually the case, that these students have one specific script for interviewing, it is not surprising that we were unable to find differences in nonverbal behavior due to our self-presentational goals.

This lack of interview experience may also be the reason that, while we found nonverbal differences between individuals' rated most and least likable, we found no differences in displays of nonverbal behaviors between individuals receiving the highest and lowest ratings of competence (upper and lower quartiles). It is likely that students have a great deal more experience in their daily lives presenting themselves in a likable

manner as opposed to a competent one and therefore may have evolved more strategies for achieving the goal of likability than competence.

While we did not find the expected self-presentational goal effects in Study 1, we did find a number of effects involving interviewees' level of self-monitoring: high self-monitors were perceived by judges as less anxious, by interviewers as more competent and somewhat more hirable, and by both judges and interviewers as happier than low self-monitors, and high self-monitors received somewhat higher ratings of competence in the self-promotion condition than low self-monitors. These results are logical, but they are fairly unique. For instance, in a chapter regarding self-monitoring in organizational settings, Snyder and Copeland (1989) expressed surprise at the scarce research conducted on the effects of self-monitoring style on interview behaviors and outcomes. They hypothesized that high self-monitors may pay particular attention to the cues of the interviewer in order to respond in the most appropriate and favorable fashion. Low self-monitors, on the other hand, may attempt to present themselves as accurately as possible so as to assure that they are only hired for positions that are a "good fit." This strategy will only win them the job if there is a high degree of congruence between their personalities and values and the requirements of the position.

Limitations and Future Directions

In daily life, self-presenters are not actors putting on a show for an empty house. They are not even performing for a packed, but passive, audience. Instead, they are engaged in an improvisational show in which the audience becomes actively involved in the program, influencing the direction of the production as well as its outcome. Based on this metaphor, then, the present studies have a number of limitations--in particular, the

use of videotaped interviews in Study 2 and the use of same-sex interviewers in Study 1. In Study 2 there was no opportunity for any interaction between the participants serving as our raters and the confederate interviewees. While many studies employ similar paradigms involving individuals making "hiring" decisions based on videotaped or written exposure to applicants, Young (1984) points out that videotape and resume presentations of candidates treat them in a static form, there is no opportunity for the interviewer to interact with the interviewee and therefore results must be interpreted in line with these limitations.

Our decision to use same sex-interviewers in Study 1 was based mainly on constraints in time and in availability of participants, and must be considered, at the very least, when interpreting the meaning of gender effects in Study 1. The personal characteristics of interviewers and/or applicants' beliefs regarding the personal characteristics of interviewers can certainly impact the impression management strategies used by applicants. Studies have shown that during mock interviews, interviewees modify their self-presentations to match the preferences of their interviewers (e.g., Jellison & Gentry, 1978; von Baeyer, Sherk, & Zanna, 1981). Even the sex of an interaction partner has been shown to affect individuals' self-presentations, such that people display more aggression in the presence of a man than a woman (Borden, 1975).

A series of studies have been conducted to assess the effects of the views of women held by male interviewers (traditional versus liberal) on the self-presentations of female applicants. Zanna and Pack (1975) found that, overall, women presenting themselves to interviewers holding traditional views of women portrayed their own attitudes as more conventional and performed less well on a test purported to measure

their intelligence as compared to women presenting themselves to interviewers holding more nontraditional views of women. In addition, women expecting to meet attractive, desirable male interviewers characterized themselves as more feminine and less intelligent when they thought the man had traditional as opposed to non-traditional views of women. In a similar study, von Baeyer, Sherk, and Zanna (1981) demonstrated that women adapted their physical appearances and nonverbal styles to match presumed values of an interviewer for a prospective job, presenting themselves in a more "feminine" manner when they knew the interviewer held traditional views of women. In the traditional condition women looked less at the interviewer while they spoke, talked less, wore more make-up and accessories, and responded to the interviewers' questions with answers more closely corresponding to the traditional female stereotype.

The level of gender-consistent behavior elicited by men and women is likely to depend to a large degree upon implicit and explicit situational demands (Deaux & Major, 1987). Klein and Willerman (1979) found that women's behavior varied as a function of sex of audience as well as perceived demands of the situation. When women received no specific experimental instructions regarding their expected interactions, they displayed less dominance with male rather than female partners, but when participants were told to behave as dominant as possible by experimenter, women showed no variability as a function of the sex of their partners. In order to further the application of the present work, future studies should examine interviews in which gender of both interviewer and interviewee are fully crossed so that the effects of gender of self-presenter and audience on nonverbal presentation can be more thoroughly examined.

As mentioned previously, one of the proposed explanations as to why no effects of self-presentational goal were identified in Study 1 was related to the lack of interviewing experience of our undergraduate participants. Clearly the use of undergraduate students as interviewees has limitations for this type of research; we are examining individuals at the lower-end of the job experience continuum. On the other hand, these are the individuals who are likely to need the most advice in terms of their self-presentations in interviews. It would be interesting to compare the nonverbal behaviors of those individuals with substantial interview experience/success with those individuals with less experience. In addition, future research should include the involvement of actual college recruiters in the interview/evaluation process. Perhaps trained recruiters use different criteria for judging the hirability of candidates than our undergraduate judges.

A significant portion of the body of work on self-presentation, has been conducted without a strong theoretical framework. The majority of these studies have examined associations between specific nonverbal behaviors and decision outcomes, or manipulated levels of nonverbal behaviors in order to measure the impact on social interactions. This is not to say that this type of work is not valuable. Clearly we believe that these types of studies can shed light on the interviewing process, aiding both interviewer and interviewee. However, an overarching theory by which we could explain the effects of these nonverbal behaviors would be useful. While a few theories of self-presentation, many modeled after the Jones and Pittman (1982) Theory of Strategic Self-Presentation, do exist (e.g., Tedeschi & Melburg, 1984; Kacmer, Delery, & Ferris, 1992), the function of these theories is primarily to identify new ways to classify or group self-

presentational strategies rather than to identify the processes through which these specific tactics function.

One likely mediator of interviewer judgments is the level and positivity of affect elicited in the interviewer for the applicant. Studies have shown that when applicants emit high levels of nonverbal behaviors, interviewers' ratings of them are increased (Imada & Hakel, 1977; Rasmussen, 1984). It has been suggested that these tactics increase ratings of applicants by generating positive affect in the interviewers (Cardy & Dobbins, 1986). This positive affect creates a halo effect, leading the interviewer to infer the existence of additional positive characteristics in the applicant.

Baron (1989) has created a theoretical model of the impact of impression management tactics on subsequent affect and cognitions of the interviewer. Based on recent work in social cognition (e.g., Isen, 1987), he suggests that when impression management tactics succeed, they create positive affect in the interviewer which leads to (1) increased memory for positive information about the interviewee, (2) the interpretation of ambiguous stimuli as positive, and (3) a more inclusive organization of information about the interviewee. Baron suggests a parallel system for instances when impression management tactics fail: negative affect leads to (1) increased memory for negative information, (2) the interpretation of ambiguous stimuli as negative, and (3) a less inclusive organization of information about the interviewee.

In addition to influencing interviewer affect directed towards applicants, Howard and Ferris' (1996) Model of the Employment Interview suggests that applicant behaviors, personal characteristics, and situational characteristics also influence interviewer judgements of their own similarity to the applicant as well as the perceived competence

of the applicant. Interviewer affect and judgments of similarity and competence then act to influence interviewer decisions regarding an applicant's suitability for a job. Portions of this model have found support in the literature.

The finding that we like those individuals we perceive to be most like us is well established (Byrne, 1969; Hill & Stull, 1981; Carli, Ganley, & Pierce-Otay, 1991). It is not surprising, then, to find that the more similar an applicant appears to the interviewer, the higher the ratings the applicant receives from the interviewer (Frank & Hackman, 1975; Graves & Powell, 1988; Schmitt, 1976). Similarity has been shown to affect hiring recommendations in cases of both biographical and actual similarity (Rand & Wexley, 1975).

Higher ratings of individuals' competence have been found when applicants exhibit high levels of smiling, nodding, and eye contact (Gifford, Ng, & Wilkinson, 1985; McGovern & Tinsley, 1978; Parsons & Liden, 1984; Rasmussen, 1984; Tessler & Sushelsky, 1978), although no relationship existed between these behaviors and ratings of competence in the present study. These types of nonverbal behaviors have been found to account for much of the variability in interviewers' evaluations (Young & Beier, 1977). Whereas behaviors such as avoidance glances have been more often associated with unsuccessful interviews, smiling and direct eye contact have been associated with successful interviews (Forbes & Jackson, 1980; Harris, 1989; Webster, 1982). When applicants sought to foster interpersonal attraction or competence in an interview situation, interviewers rated applicants more positively (Rynes & Gerhart, 1990).

In a test of their model in which participants viewed videotapes of simulated job interviews with applicants varying on levels of self-promotional and nonverbal behaviors,

Howard and Ferris (1996) found a reasonably good fit of their model to the data, but even they admit that further studies need be conducted to address the complex interactions between these variables.

Conclusion

If we were to examine the interview advice provided by Ron Fry (1991) at the beginning of this chapter, based on the present set of studies, we would agree that eye contact and body posture can influence the ratings received by interviewees, but we also would point out that the specificity of his advice leaves much to be desired. How much eye contact is enough and at what point we are "overdoing it"? Where is the line between slouching and sitting at attention? Our studies suggest that even relatively small changes in nonverbal behaviors can affect ratings of the interviewee. Additionally, those levels of behaviors resulting in the most effective self-presentations for men are different from those levels resulting in the most effective self-presentations for women.

Based on this single set of studies we are hesitant to make generalizations regarding the most effective nonverbal self-presentations for all or most individuals, but it is our hope that this research will begin to provide a richer understanding of the specific effects of nonverbal behaviors in the employment interview. Eventually, the illumination of these processes may allow us to aid individuals who consider themselves interpersonally unskilled in managing the first impressions they project to others, providing them with more precise guidelines by which they can positively control their self-presentations.

APPENDIX A

SELF-MONITORING SCALE

Please read each statement carefully and circle the number that indicates whether you agree or disagree with the statement. Please answer honestly.

1. Thus far, I have enjoyed my time here at UMASS.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

2. Right now, I am in a good mood.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

3. Right now, I believe I am no more nervous than most other people.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

* 4. I find it hard to imitate the behavior of other people.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

5. I dislike the sensations one gets when flying.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

* 6. At parties and social gatherings, I do not attempt to do or say things that others will like.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

7. I commonly make conversation with strangers.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

* 8. I can only argue for ideas which I already believe.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

*Self-monitoring scale items

9. I am not very insistent in an argument.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

* 10. I can make impromptu speeches even on topics about which I have almost no information.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

11. I am troubled by attacks of nausea.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

* 12. I guess I put on a show to impress or entertain others.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

13. I work under a great deal of tension.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

* 14. I would probably make a good actor/actress.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

15. In an argument, I can usually win others over to my side.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

* 16. In a group of people I am rarely the center of attention.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

17. Sometimes I get so excited that I find it hard to get to sleep.
   (1) agree
   (2) disagree

* 18. In different situations and with different people, I often act like very different people.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

19. Before voting, I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

* 20. I am not particularly good at making other people like me.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

21. I enjoy many of the rides in amusement parks.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

* 22. I'm not always the person I appear to be.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

23. I dislike people who do or say things just to shock or upset others.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

* 24. I would not change my opinions (or the way I do things) in order to please someone or win their favor.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

25. When you can predict almost everything a person will do and say he or she must be a bore.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

* 26. I have considered being an entertainer.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

27. I like "wild" uninhibited parties.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

* 28. I have never been good at games like charades or improvisational acting.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

29. I would like to try parachute jumping.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

* 30. I have trouble changing my behavior to suit different people and different situations.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

31. I have more close friends now than I did in high school.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

* 32. At a party I let others keep the jokes and stories going.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

* 33. I feel a bit awkward in public and do not show up quite as well as I should.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

34. My friends would generally consider me a happy person.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

* 35. I can look anyone in the eye and tell a lie with a straight face (if for a right end).
(1) agree
(2) disagree

36. I have an easy time meeting and talking to new people.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

* 37. I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

38. I enjoy meeting and talking to new people.
(1) agree
(2) disagree

APPENDIX B

JOB DESCRIPTIONS

The Marriott Hotel Corporation offers a summer trainee program to college students interested in management positions. Candidates should be currently enrolled in college and have some prior work experience. Specifically, Marriott is looking for undergraduates who appear:

- self-confident
- highly competent
- capable
- self-assured

Because much of your time will involve interacting with others, it is essential that you be able to present yourself in this manner at all times on the job. Selection of trainees will be based on these criteria.

The Marriott Hotel Corporation offers a summer trainee program to college students interested in management positions. Candidates should be currently enrolled in college and have some prior work experience. Specifically, Marriott is looking for undergraduates who appear:

- friendly
- likable
- pleasant
- able to get along well with others

Because much of your time will involve interacting with others, it is essential that you be able to present yourself in this manner at all times on the job. Selection of trainees will be based on these criteria.

The Marriott Hotel Corporation offers a summer trainee program to college students interested in management positions. Candidates should be currently enrolled in college and have some prior work experience. Because much of your time will involve interacting with others, it is essential that you be able to present yourself well at all times on the job.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interviewer: Hi, _____. [SHAKE HANDS] You can pull up a chair and we'll get started. [TURN ON AUDIO TAPE]

Interviewer: Are you in the School of Management? || What's your major? || Why did you choose to pursue this particular major?

Interviewer: Why did you choose to attend UMass versus some other school?

Interviewer: What are the most and least satisfying parts of school?

Interviewer: Can you tell me about the most difficult decision you ever had to make? How did you make that decision?

Interviewer: Have you had any summer work experiences? || What have you gained from these experiences?

Interviewer: What was the most difficult task you encountered on a job?

Interviewer: What is a recent risk you have taken?

Interviewer: How do you overcome obstacles?

Interviewer: What do you think makes you stand out from the rest of the people I have interviewed?

Interviewer: Alright. Thank you very much for your time. [GET UP AND SHAKE HANDS] If you go outside, Sara has a few more forms for you to fill out.

Response to questions about the company or program: We'd like everyone to have the same amount of information going into this interview. I'd be happy to answer your questions after we've finished.

APPENDIX D

POST-INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

1. According to the job description you were given prior to your interview, what abilities are necessary for this management program?
(please circle one option)

(a) ability to appear friendly and likable
(b) ability to appear competent and skillful
(c) both a and b
(d) neither a nor b

2. How much prior work experience do you have? How many jobs have you held?

3. How many job interviews have you had?

4. How interested are you in the summer management program?

not at all interested	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very interested

5. How well do you believe you performed in today's interview? (please circle the appropriate number)

not at all well	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very well

6. How comfortable were you with the interviewer?

not at all comfortable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very comfortable

7. How competent did the interviewer seem?

not at all competent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very competent

8. How seriously did you take this interview?

not at all seriously	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very seriously

APPENDIX E

SAMPLE VIDEOTAPE RATING SCALES

For each of the scales, circle the number that best describes your answer to the question asked. Please be sure to read each scale carefully.

Practice #1

very angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all angry
very anxious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all anxious

Practice #2

very angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all angry
very anxious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all anxious

Practice #3

very angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all angry
very anxious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all anxious

Clip #1

very angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all angry
very anxious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all anxious

Clip #2

very angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all angry
very anxious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all anxious

For each of the scales, circle the number that best describes your answer to the question asked. Please be sure to read each scale carefully.

Practice #1

very happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all happy
very fearful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all fearful

Practice #2

very happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all happy
very fearful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all fearful

Practice #3

very happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all happy
very fearful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all fearful

Clip #1

very happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all happy
very fearful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all fearful

Clip #2

very happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all happy
very fearful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not at all fearful

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEWER RATING SCALES

Recruiter Questionnaire

1. How likely would you be to hire this interviewee?

not at all likely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very likely

2. On each of the following scales, please circle the number that best represents the performance of this interviewee.

not at all competent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very competent
not at all happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very happy
not at all fearful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very fearful
not at all likable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very likable
not at all angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very angry
not at all disgusted	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	very disgusted

APPENDIX G

INTERVIEWEE SCRIPT

Interviewer: Hi, _____. [SHAKE HANDS] You can pull up a chair and we'll get started. Are you in the School of Management?

Applicant: Uh huh [NODDING].

Interviewer: What's your major?

Applicant: Marketing.

Interviewer: Why did you choose to pursue this particular major?

Applicant: Hmmm...well I've always liked working with people and I heard the marketing program at UMass is really strong. I also figured I could get a good job with a degree in marketing.

Interviewer: Why did you choose to attend UMass versus some other school?

Applicant: It's a pretty good bargain--you get a good education for a decent price. I also wanted to stay close to home. I've never lived very far from my family.

Interviewer: What are the most and least satisfying parts of school?

Applicant: Hmmm [PAUSE] I guess the most satisfying part is the social life. I've made a lot of friends here and there always seems to be a party to go to or something going on. It's a lot of fun. And the least satisfying part? [PAUSE] Some of the classes, especially the really big ones, can be pretty boring. You feel like you're lost in the crowd so you don't work as hard. I like the smaller, upper-level classes lot better. I feel like I get more attention in those classes and it forces me to actually do all the work.

Interviewer: Tell me about the most difficult decision you ever had to make. How did you make that decision?

Applicant: [PAUSE] I guess that would be what school to go to. I knew that I wanted to stay close to home and I didn't want to go into too much debt, but I also wanted a good education, so I went to a college fair and collected a lot of information about local schools and made lists of the pros and cons of each school. UMass ended up being one of the top five schools on my list. I think I made the right decision coming here.

Interviewer: Have you had any summer work experience?

Applicant: Yeah, I do temp work each summer for different companies.

Interviewer: What have you gained from these experiences?

Applicant: Well, it's definitely not the most difficult work in the world, but it does expose you to different work environments and gives you the chance to work with a lot of different people.

Interviewer: What was the most difficult task you encountered on a job?

Applicant: At one company I didn't get along well with my supervisor at all. I wanted to keep the job, though, so I learned to just suck it up and be more flexible. It also helped to know that I wouldn't be working for that company forever.

Interviewer: What is a recent risk you have taken?

Applicant: A recent risk...hmmm...well, I don't know if I'd call this a risk, but I decided to move off campus this year. I was kinda worried that living in a house with my friends would interfere with my studying because it would be too easy to do other things, but I think I've handled it pretty well. We do mess around and party a fair amount, but I put aside time each day to go to the library and study.

Interviewer: How do you overcome obstacles?

Applicant: Obstacles...I don't really worry about obstacles. There's not much you can do to stop them, so I just work harder to push through them. I mean I try not to let things stop me.

Interviewer: What do you think makes you stand out from the rest of the people I have interviewed?

Applicant: Well...I don't know who else you've interviewed, but I'm motivated and I think I'm a good person to work with. I also put a lot of effort into things I do.

Interviewer: Alright_____, thanks for coming in today.

APPENDIX H

PARTICIPANT RATING SCALES

Tape # _____ Subj # _____

Based on the job description, how likely would you be to hire this person?

not at all likely	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	very likely

How friendly would this interviewee appear on the job?

not at all friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	very friendly

How well do you think this interviewee would interact with people on the job?

not at all well	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	very well

For each of the following scales, circle the number that best describes your answer to the question asked
Please be sure to read each scale carefully

This interviewee appeared to be:

not at all competent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	very competent
not at all likable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	very likable
not at all angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	very angry
not at all anxious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	very anxious
not at all happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	very happy
not at all fearful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	very fearful

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